9-2012

Understanding Internalized Oppression: A Theoretical Conceptualization of Internalized Subordination

Teeomm K. Williams
University of Massachusetts Amherst, solfyr99@aol.com

UNDERSTANDING INTERNALIZED OPPRESSION:
A THEORETICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF INTERNALIZED
SUBORDINATION

A Dissertation Presented

by

TEEOMM K. WILLIAMS

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 2012

Social Justice Education Program

UNDERSTANDING INTERNALIZED OPPRESSION:
A THEORETICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF INTERNALIZED
SUBORDINATION

A Dissertation Presented

by

TEEOMM K. WILLIAMS

Approved as to style and content by:

_____

Barbara Love, Chair

_____

Maurianne Adams, Member

_____

Todd Crosset, Member

_____

Christine B. McCormick, Dean
School of Education

DEDICATION

For the educators, activists, freedom fighters, and liberation workers who came before me. Your love, hard work, and sacrifice made this possible. It is upon your shoulders I stand, and I am humbled and grateful.

For the educators, activists, freedom fighters, and liberation workers who come after me. May your efforts always be guided by unconditional love and a steadfast belief that the world can and will be a better place.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This has been a spectacular and challenging journey. Who I am today is fundamentally different from the person I was when I started. I have many people to thank for that. Though I've done my best to acknowledge them here, no words can ever express the depth of my appreciation.

To Mom, Cid, Shon, Chris, Uncle Kevin, and the crew: This dissertation is as much yours as it is mine. You've been with me every step of the way. Thank you for all of your love and support. Thank you for taking my late night calls. Thank you for forgiving me when I didn't call. Thank you for encouraging me to continue when I wasn't so sure I wanted to. I love you.

To Barbara Love: My professor, my mentor, my friend. I truly do not have the words to express my gratitude. Your friendship, teaching, and mentorship have helped me to become a better, stronger, wiser man. I will always strive to uphold the brilliant and powerful example you've set. There is a reason your name is Love. Thank you.

To Maurianne Adams: There were plenty of times that I really wanted to quit this process, both because of its length and its complexity. Your steady reassurance and willingness to take the time to calmly pick apart the issues I struggled with were not only invaluable but very much appreciated. And though I may have complained, I particularly appreciate the way you consistently pushed me to such a high level of excellence. I am ever grateful to have had your support and mentorship. Thank you.

To Todd Crosset: I truly enjoyed our dialogues. I appreciate your thoughtful questions and your thoughtful responses to my questions. Your guidance, positive

reinforcement and humor were critical in helping me to complete this process. Thank you for your steadfast support.

To Ximena Zuniga and Pat Griffin: Both of you have been instrumental in my development as a practitioner and scholar. Thank you for the all of the hard work you've done (and continue to do!) and for the gifts you've imparted.

To Dr. Julius Thompson: You were the first scholar I'd ever known who could use big academic words and profanity in the same sentence and make them both sound equally brilliant. Our time together taught me the meaning of unwavering excellence. I miss your straightforward way of telling me to get my act together. Thank you for your humor, support, and guidance.

To the many friends who have supported me along the way: Where would I be without you? Dissertations, though written by one person, are usually community endeavors. Your love and support has helped me to get through this process mostly sane and relatively intact. Though I do not have the space to thank all of you here, please know that I love you all dearly. And now that I'll have more time on my hands, on to our next adventure!

To the SJE family past and present: Thank you, thank you, thank you. You've been a part of my life for many years. I'm more amazed by all of you now than I was when I first started. Your collective wisdom, guidance, and willingness to challenge with patience and care have been transformational. I look forward to deepening our friendships and continuing our collective liberatory endeavors.

Last, but certainly not least, to Linda Guthrie. Thank you for your friendship, support, encouragement, and assistance throughout the years. You've been an

instrumental part of my success and the completion of this dissertation. I appreciate everything that you've done for me. And I promise I'll have that ID number memorized sometime before graduation.

ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING INTERNALIZED OPPRESSION:
A THEORETICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF INTERNALIZED
SUBORDINATION

SEPTEMBER 2012

TEEOMM K. WILLIAMS, B.A., SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

M.A., GONZAGA UNIVERSITY

M.Ed., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by: Professor Barbara J. Love

Internalized oppression is one of the conceptual foundations of social justice education. Though the literature on internalized oppression is rich with descriptive data, little theory has been developed in this area. To date, the field of Social Justice Education has been limited by this oversight. Drawing upon the work of theorists who have examined this topic across a variety of social identities, this study presents a generalizable framework for understanding and analyzing internalized oppression. More specifically, this research focuses on the internalized oppression of subordinant groups, also known as internalized subordination. The framework presented within this study identifies internalized oppression as having three core components or "defining elements": *process*, *state,* and *action*. It is intended to be used as a foundation and starting point for, rather than in lieu of, the examination of the internalized oppression specific to particular social identities. Further, this framework is intended to benefit both scholars and practitioners of social justice and will aide in the development of methodologies and pedagogies aimed at interrupting internalized oppression and promoting liberatory consciousness.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPENDICES

A COMMONLY IDENTIFIED PATTERNS OF INTERNALIZED

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

> Implicit in her desire was racial self-loathing. And twenty years later I was still wondering about how one learns that. Who told her? Who made her feel that it was better to be a freak than what she was? Who had looked at her and found her so wanting, so small a weight on the beauty scale? (Morrison, 1970, p. xi)

Pecola Breedlove wanted blue eyes. In her Nobel prize-winning novel, *The Bluest Eye*, Morrison (1970) tells Pecola's story. Morrison writes: "Long hours she sat looking in the mirror, trying to discover the secret of her ugliness, the ugliness that made her ignored or despised at school, by teachers and classmates alike" (p. 45). Pecola, a little Black girl, wondered exactly what it was about her that made her so unappealing, so *ugly*. It was her eyes, she surmised. Pecola longed for blue eyes, the eyes of little White girls, so that she could be loved and cherished the way that little White girls were loved and cherished. No one told her that she was beautiful. No one told her she was worthy of love.

Pecola learned to see herself through the perspective of White people, a group who saw her (and people like her), as fundamentally flawed and as less than human; so had the people around her. Thus, no matter what changes she made, she would always be considered defective. This story is the story of many other little girls and boys throughout the Black Diaspora; it is the story of the instillation and maintenance of internalized oppression.

This study presents a conceptual framework for understanding and analyzing internalized oppression. A review of the literature on internalized oppression provides the basis for the development of this framework. The framework presented has applicability

for groups targeted by oppression as well as groups that benefit from oppression. However, this study focuses on and is illustrative of the internalized oppression experienced by targeted groups, also known as internalized subordination.

Throughout the course of this study, I wll use the term "Subordinant" to refer to individuals and groups targeted by oppression rather than the customary term "subordinate." This term was first used by Love (2010) in her pioneering explanation of Liberatory Consciousness. Love prefers this spelling for several reasons:

1. *Subordinant* is a noun; *subordinate* is an adjective modifying the noun.
2. *Subordinant* parallels the use of *dominant*, but *subordinate* describes what is done to the *subordinants*;
3. If we were to parallel *subordinate*, we would need to write *dominate* and;
4. Using the modifying adjective to refer to groups of people seems to further objectify and reduce.(p. 603)

Love's analysis not only pays attention to consistency in grammar but, equally as important, pays attention to the power dynamics of language. Specifically, this perspective seeks to avoid reproducing oppressive dynamics through language. This is an essential aspect to understanding and deconstructing oppression and in moving toward liberation. To be consistent with Love's perspective, the customary term "dominant" will be used to refer to individuals and groups that benefit from oppression.

Statement of the Problem

Through the development and evolution of multiple fields of study, including oppression theory and social justice education, much is currently understood about the dynamics of oppression. Many of the contributions in these fields have come to focus on the external social, institutional, and cultural dynamics of oppression. Increasingly,

theorists, students, and practitioners have also begun to study the internal dynamics of oppression, a phenomenon known as internalized oppression.

The concept of internalized oppression is a foundational component of numerous fields of study including oppression theory, social justice education, feminist theory, Black feminist theory and the newly emerging field of critical liberation theory (CLT). Collectively, these overlapping fields theorize the existence, nature, form, and function of oppression and liberation. Internalized oppression is important to each of these fields, because it is one of the fundamental mechanisms through which systems of oppression are perpetuated and maintained (Fletcher, 1999; Hardiman & Jackson, 1997, 2007; Lipski, 1987; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002). Though internalized oppression is central to each of these fields, it remains a largely under-theorized concept.

Internalized oppression is a phenomenon experienced by members of both subordinant groups (i.e., those who are oppressed) and dominant groups (i.e., those who benefit from oppression) (L. Bell, 2007, Hardiman & Jackson, 2007). However, the literature on internalized oppression most often focuses on the internalized oppression of subordinant groups, also known as internalized subordination. For example, Fanon (1967, 1968) and Memmi (1965) describe the effects of European colonialism on the psychology and behavior of colonized African peoples. The effects they describe include a process through which members of subordinant groups are socialized to fit the needs and desires of the dominant group. Freire (1970) expands this discourse by, among other things, including the consideration that both dominant and subordinant groups are impacted and shaped by the experience of oppression. This belief is later echoed by Miller (1986) in *Toward a New Psychology of Women,* which focuses specifically on the subordination on

3

women. The contributions of these early theorists have been largely descriptive in nature; there are currently no existing comprehensive theoretical frameworks for understanding internalized oppression. As a result, there is a great deal of theoretical ambiguity regarding this very important concept.

Purpose of the Study

This study presents a conceptual framework for understanding and analyzing internalized oppression. A review of the literature on internalized oppression provides the basis for the development of this framework. The framework presented in this study centers on and is illustrative of the internalized oppression experienced by subordinant groups, also known as internalized subordination.

This research examines the work of theorists who have examined this topic across a variety of social identities to present a generalized theory of internalized oppression. This framework identifies internalized oppression as having three defining elements: (a) *process* (i.e., the individual, societal and group *processes* through which internalized oppression is instilled, perpetuated, and maintained), (b) *state* (i.e., the characteristics, thoughts, and feelings that are consistently displayed by subordinant group members when internalized oppression is present and in operation), and (c) *action* (i.e., outcomes or patterned behaviors that characterize and/or help to perpetuate both the external dynamics of oppression and its internalized consequences).

The framework presented in this study is intended to be used as a starting point for (rather than in lieu of) further examination of the internalized oppression specific to particular social identity groups. The goal of this study is to present a framework that, as

4

a generalized theory, will have applicability across a range of social identities and will serve as a foundation from which future scholars, researchers, and practitioners can conduct deeper examinations of the unique forms of internalized oppression found among different targeted groups.

Clarifications and Delimitations

Internalized oppression is a very broad and complex phenomenon. Therefore, it is important to offer clarifications and delimitations for this study. First, this study presents a conceptual model for understanding and analyzing internalized oppression. Though internalized oppression afflicts members of both dominant and subordinant groups (L. Bell, 2007; Hardiman & Jackson, 2007), this research focuses on the internalized oppression experienced by individuals and groups in connection with their subordinant identities (i.e., internalized subordination). While the model presented in this research can be applied to the internalized oppression experienced in connection to dominant identities (i.e., internalized domination), the latter is outside the scope of this study.

Second, in this study, I examine the phenomenon of internalized oppression across a variety of social identities (i.e., identities based upon race, gender, sexual/relationship orientation, etc.). Though there are distinct differences in the oppression and internalized oppression experienced and manifested by different social identity groups, this research is concerned with elucidating the similarities. The goal of the conceptual model presented here is not to offer an exhaustive explanation of the internalized oppression of all groups, but, rather, to offer a framework for understanding

the general phenomenon of internalized oppression and to serve as a starting point from which to conduct further, more specific analysis.

Third, my own social identities have influenced all aspects of this research, including interpretation of the literature and development and presentation of the framework offered. My life experience and perspective have been shaped, in part, by my social identities. These identities shape and inform my thinking and perspective on internalized oppression. This approach is rooted in the literature of feminist standpoint theory. According to Hartstock (1998) and Collins (2000), the knowledge and perspective one holds or lacks about oppression (and other phenomena) is directly related to one's social location or standpoint.

As a researcher, I am writing from the standpoint of an African American man (i.e., a biological man with a masculine gender expression). I am also writing from the standpoint of someone who is heterosexual, of working class background and though I do not claim a Christian identity, I was raised in a Christian context. The framework presented in this research is influenced by my collective identities, both dominant and subordinant and is informed by and centered in a worldview that includes multiple intersecting perspectives. Any omission or oversight in the construction and/or presentation of this research is mine and mine alone.

Fourth, the model proposed here describes three elements or facets of internalized oppression: *process*, *state*, and *action*. In this study, these elements of internalized oppression are presented separately for the purpose of analysis. In operation, they are inextricably intertwined, and each depends on the others for mutual support and reinforcement. Internalized oppression is not a linear phenomenon; it is complex and

dynamic and occurs on multiple levels simultaneously. Thus, when internalized oppression is in operation, the elements of *process*, *state*, and *action* are happening concurrently. These elements combine to create an intricate and multifaceted system through which internalized oppression is instilled, perpetuated, maintained, and enacted.

Last, this study is theoretical in nature; it is based on a review of the existing literature concerned with internalized oppression. It is not a model based upon empirical data. Before one can actively pursue an empirically based research agenda, one must have a theoretical framework upon which to base one's research. In my review of the literature on internalized oppression, I found no existing frameworks that comprehensively explain internalized oppression. Therefore, this research is intended to serve that purpose, as well as to act as a starting point for future theoretical and empirical research on internalized oppression.

Design of the Study

My preliminary literature review did not reveal any existing conceptual models explaining internalized oppression. This study is theoretical, therefore, in part, due to necessity. Before one can undertake empirical research, quantitative or qualitative, one must have an organizing framework.

The framework presented in this study is based upon a review of the existing literature on internalized oppression, my own thinking, and extensive conversations and interviews with Dr. Barbara Love, Professor of Social Justice Education. For this research, I will review six bodies of literature: oppression theory, critical race theory, social justice education, Feminist Studies, Black Feminist Studies, social identity theory

and the emerging field of critical liberation theory. I begin by analyzing and synthesizing existing definitions of internalized oppression in support of a wider generalized theory of internalized oppression. I then identify and discuss three themes that have emerged through my examination of the literature on internalized oppression: internalized oppression as a *process*, internalized oppression as a *state,* and internalized oppression as *action*. I then present a detailed analysis of each of these themes, followed by several examples that illustrate the themes presented.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter 1 provides an introduction and overview of this study. Chapter 2 offers an overview of oppression theory. This overview reviews those elements of oppression theory that are relevant to a discussion on internalized oppression. This chapter also contextualizes the concept of internalized oppression within the broader field of oppression theory and includes an explanation of the relationship between oppression and internalized oppression. Specifically, Chapter 2 examines two main points of importance regarding internalized oppression found in oppression theory, namely that internalized oppression is: (a) an effect or by-product of living within an oppressive context and/or (b) a condition necessary for the maintenance and perpetuation of oppression. It further details how the framework presented in this research is relevant and fits into the contexts of internalized oppression and oppression theory and how it contributes to these bodies of knowledge.

Chapter 3 of this study includes a review of the literature on internalized oppression. It includes a review from six bodies of literature, including oppression

theory, critical race theory, social justice education, Feminist Studies, Black Feminist Studies, and the emerging field of critical liberation theory.

Numerous theorists describe phenomena that may be characterized as internalized oppression. In The *Mis-education of the Negro*, Woodson (2000) depicts the psychological and behavioral effects of living in an oppressive context. Specifically, he describes the effects that educational institutions and processes have on a targeted group, when controlled by a dominant group, that is, members of subordinant groups who are educated and socialized to believe, think, and behave in ways that are both pleasing to members of the dominant group and help in perpetuating existing systems of oppression. In describing this phenomenon, Woodson does not use the language of "internalized oppression." However, Woodson's description exemplifies part of the form and function of internalized oppression: cognitive, behavioral, and emotional control of a subordinant group by a dominant group. While it is important to examine phenomena that can be framed as internalized oppression, Chapter 3 focuses specifically on literature that utilizes the language of "internalized oppression."

The literature review for Chapter 3 examines and contrasts existing definitions of internalized oppression. From this discussion I synthesize the major elements in these definitions and outline what I refer to as the "defining elements" or primary components of internalized oppression (i.e., *process, state,* and *action*). Theorists examined in Chapter 3 include Gail Pheterson, Suzanne Pharr, Geraldine Moane, Suzanne Lipsky, Lee Ann Bell, Pat Griffin, Rita Hardiman and Bailey Jackson, Patricia Hill Collins, Ricky Sherover Marcuse and Barbara Love.

Patricia Hill Collins work falls primarily within the realm of Black Feminist studies and Feminist studies. Collins' (2000) concept of intersectionality, which examines the multiple levels and manifestations of the interactions between social identity groups (and their dominant and subordinate statuses), serves as a guide in framing the complexities of the experience of internalized oppression. Further, her descriptive explanations of internalized oppression is used to illustrate the themes of internalized oppression as *state* and as *action*.

Gail Pheterson and Suzanne Pharr also fall within the realm of Feminist Studies. Pheterson's (1986) work is used to illustrate the themes of internalized oppression as *process* and as *state* and to provide descriptive narratives about the experience of internalized oppression. Pharr's (1996, 1997) theoretical examination of internalized oppression is used to help contextualize internalize oppression within a broader understanding of oppression. Further, her understanding of internalized oppression is used to illustrate the themes of internalized oppression as a *process* and internalized oppression as a *state*.

Geraldine Moane is an Irish feminist scholar whose work can be placed both in psychology, Feminist Studies and critical liberation theory. Moane's (1999) theoretical study of oppression and liberation is used in several ways. First, Moane's discussion of internalized oppression is used to illustrate internalized oppression as a *state* and as *action*. Second, Moane names four areas of psychological functioning that are impacted by the experience of oppression: self and identity, emotions, interpersonal relationships, and mental health. These four areas are used as a framework to discuss internalized oppression as a *psychological state* (one of two states named in this framework). Last, her

work is used to contextualize internalized oppression in a broader understanding of both oppression and liberation.

Ricky Sherover-Marcuse's work falls within the realm of critical liberation theory. Barbara Love's work also falls within the realm of both critical liberation theory and social justice education. Similar to Moanne, both Sherover-Marcuse's (1997, 2000a, 2000b) and Love's (personal communication, July 12, 2002) work are used to place internalized oppression in a broader context of oppression and liberation. In addition, Sherover-Marcuse's conceptualization of internalized oppression is used to illustrate the concept of internalized oppression as a *process* and as a *state*, whereas Love's conceptualization is used to illustrate the concept of internalized oppression as *process* and as *action*.

Pat Griffin, Lee Ann Bell, Rita Hardiman and Bailey Jackson all fall within the field of social justice education. Hardiman and Jackson's (1997, 2007) model of social identity development is used to situate the concept of internalized oppression within the sociopolitical and social identity development of subordinant groups. Further, their understanding of internalized subordination will be used to illustrate the themes of internalized oppression as a *state* and as *action*. Griffin's (1997, 2007) and L. Bell's (1997, 2007) conceptualizations of internalized subordination is used to illustrate internalized oppression as a *process*.

Chapter 4 of this study presents a discussion of the *processes* responsible for the instillation, maintenance, and perpetuation of internalized oppression. The *process* element of this framework refers to the identifiable ways through which subordinate groups acquire internalized oppression and through which internalized oppression is

instilled, maintained, and perpetuated. These processes include individual, societal, and group level processes.

The view of internalized oppression as a *process* is a perspective upon which multiple authors agree (L. Brown, 1986; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Morris, 1987; Pheterson, 1986). While this framework does not present an exhaustive list of ways that subordinant groups can internalize the experience of oppression, it examines a range of interconnected and mutually supportive processes responsible for the existence of internalized oppression, all of which keep subordinant groups acting in support of and in collusion with the oppression that targets them.

Chapter 4 focuses on four broad categories of *process*: *internalization*, *socialization*, *intergenerational transmission,* and *acceptance*. *Internalization* refers to the process through which the experience of oppression, including the norms, values, beliefs, and actions of the dominant group, becomes a part of the organizing framework, worldview, and psychological make-up of individual members of targeted groups. *Socialization* refers to the ways we were taught to articulate or act out our identities as members of particular social identity groups. It is closely aligned with the process of internalization, focusing on the concept of social identity at the group level (Harro, 2010). *Intergenerational transmission* refers to the processes through which internalized oppression is reproduced, transmitted, and perpetuated from one generation to the next (E. Duran, 2006; B. Duran, E. Duran, & Brave Heart, 1999; Fonagy, 1999; Kellerman, 2001). *Acceptance* refers to the ways that members of subordinate groups consciously or unconsciously accept and/or acquiesce to the limitations and subordinant roles required

for systems of oppression to exist. This framework also includes a discussion of human agency within an oppressive context.

Chapter 5 of this study examines the concept of internalized oppression as a *state*. A state of internalized oppression can be defined as the persistent presence of characteristics within subordinant groups that are attributable to or that have developed as a result of their being targeted by systems of oppression. These characteristics are consistently present and in operation within the daily lives and functioning of the individual members of subordinant groups. A state of internalized oppression is not always visible or readily apparent; it is through *action* (defining element number three) that a state of internalized oppression is revealed.

There are at least two states in which we find the existence and impact of internalized oppression within subordinant groups: the *psychological state* and the *spiritual state*. These two states are not mutually exclusive. They have been pulled apart and presented here as separate entities for the purpose of analysis. In operation, however, they are interdependent and co-exist symbiotically.

A *psychological state* of internalized oppression refers to the psychological condition, attributes, and day-to-day psychological functioning of subordinant group members that have been impacted, altered, or have developed as a result of being targeted by oppression. The result of a psychological state of internalized oppression is that subordinant groups consciously or unconsciously perpetuate, collude with, and contribute to the systems of oppression that target them. When a *psychological state* of internalized oppression is present, the experience of oppression, and the impact of that experience, has

13

been integrated into the psychological makeup of subordinant groups and the individual members of those groups.

Moane (1999) identifies four areas of psychological functioning that are impacted by oppression: self and identity, emotions, interpersonal relationships, and mental health. In this chapter, I use Moane's framework as an organizing structure to discuss some of the ways that internalized oppression exists and manifests as a *psychological state* within targeted groups. The section on self and identity includes discussions on lack of self-knowledge, the construction of self within an oppressive framework and in the naming of reality. The section on emotions includes analysis of emotional repression, emotional numbing, and shame. The section on interpersonal relationships includes analysis of horizontal hostility, ambivalent relationships, and dissimulation. The section on mental health includes analysis of the hesitance or refusal to acknowledge the need for and/or to seek psychological assistance, substance abuse and addiction, and dissociation.

It is important to note that these four areas of psychological functioning are not independent of one another. They are all part of a dynamic system; the parts are, therefore, interrelated and interdependent. When one of these areas is affected, there are ramifications for and the impact is felt in all of the remaining areas.

The second part of Chapter 5 examines internalized oppression as a *spiritual state*. Religion and spirituality play an important role in the lives of many humans. They give purpose, hope, and meaning, help people to make sense of the world, their lives, and of particular events, providing nurturance and a sense of community, and helps to cope with, heal from, and ultimately overcome trauma and oppression (Decker, 1995; Dresher & Foy, 1995; West, 1999; Frame, Williams, & Green, 1999). Religious and spiritual

beliefs are, for many people, a central organizing framework for understanding and thinking about the world. They have also served as vehicles through which oppression has been perpetuated and through which internalized oppression is instilled, perpetuated, and maintained.

A *spiritual state* of internalized oppression refers to the persistence of religious beliefs and/or spiritual attributes, conditions, or characteristics that encourage or lead subordinant groups to act in ways that consciously or unconsciously collude with the oppression that targets them. In some cases, religious and spiritual *institutions* play a pivotal role in the lives of subordinant group members and are responsible for the instillation and maintenance of religious belief and guidance in everyday life. Therefore, internalized oppression is also manifested in and transmitted through the traditions, doctrine, and experience of religious and spiritual institutions.

In my discussion of internalized oppression as a *spiritual state*, I draw primarily upon the work on Eduardo Duran, Maria Brave Heart, Leanne Tigert, Traci West, W.E.B. Du Bios, and Cheri Brown. This section includes in-depth discussions on three examples of internalized oppression as a *spiritual state*: spiritual duality, the soul wound, and religion and the transmission of internalized oppression.

Chapter 6 of this study focuses on the examination of internalized oppression as *action*. This element of internalized oppression refers to the phenomenon whereby people targeted by systems of oppression act in ways that collude with and perpetuate their oppression. This collusion occurs despite the fact that there is no member of the dominant group present to ask for, expect, demand, or enforce this behavior. When collusion occurs, it may be conscious or unconscious, intentional or unintentional (Hardiman &

Jackson, 2007; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002). The net effect, however, is the same: the perpetuation and maintenance of oppression, in part, through the actions of subordinant groups. This chapter not only examines specific patterns of internalized oppression (e.g., the preference for and deference to members of the dominant group) and their effects, it also examines the phenomena of patterned behavior itself and how that contributes to the perpetuation and maintenance of internalized oppression.

Chapter 7 of this study reviews the implications of this framework and suggests areas for future research. By default, the lack of a coherent conceptual framework explicating the nature, form, and function of internalized oppression has placed limitations on the research, pedagogy, and practice of its relevant fields of study. This chapter outlines the implications of this research for scholars, practitioners, and researchers in the areas of theory, research, and application. It further presents ideas and areas of exploration for future research including both empirical and theory-based research.

CHAPTER 2

OVERVIEW OF OPPRESSION THEORY

The idea of internalized oppression is most useful when it is placed within the

context of systems of domination and subordination, advantage and disadvantage.

Understanding internalized oppression helps, in part, to understand how systems of

inequality are reproduced and what happens to individuals who are differently positioned

within these systems (both those who are targeted by oppression and those who benefit

from it).

Oppression and Social Identity

Pharr (1996) explicitly links her interpretation and analysis of manifestations of

oppression to the contemporary political agenda of the conservative and religious right.

Young (1990), Frye (1983), and Pharr are grounded in Women's Studies and Miller

(1986) and Moane (1999) are grounded in both Feminist Studies and Psychology.

Though these conceptualizations may differ in many respects, they share an analysis of

domination and subordination.

For the purposes of this study, I utilize Hardiman, Jackson, and Griffin's (2007)

definition of oppression. They define oppression as

> A system that maintains advantage and disadvantage based on social group
> memberships and operates intentionally and unintentionally, on the individual,
> institutional and cultural levels. (p.58)

At the heart of this definition is the notion of difference. Many differences exist among

individual humans and groups of humans. One of the ways that differences are

categorized is through the use of social groups. Social groups are groups of people "who

share a range of physical cultural, or social characteristics within one of the social identity categories" (p. 56). Social identity categories are broad categories of identity under which several social groups fall. For example, race is a social category that includes the social identity groups of White, Black, Asian, Latino, and Native American, among others. The concept of social identity helps to explain individual identity within the context of larger groups and in larger society. Social identity is also a way of classifying human difference, real, perceived, or constructed, for the purpose of situating individuals within existing systems of power and dominance. The social identity categories and groups that I address in this research refer to those groups that have a history of inequality and oppression attached to them, within the context of the United States (See Appendix B for a list of the groups referred to in this study).

Human difference and the classification of human difference are neither inherently good nor inherently bad. It is when humans attribute meaning to or construct meaning around these differences that they have negative consequence. Within systems of oppression, differences are used as an indicator that demarcates those who will benefit from oppression and those who will be targeted by it. An individual will have more or less power, privilege, and access to resources within a system of oppression, depending on whether the group to which she or he is perceived to belong to. Groups that benefit from oppression and that have more power are known as dominant groups, agent groups or oppressor groups (Hardiman et al., 2007; Kirk & Ozakawa Rey, 2007; Tatum, 2003). Groups that receive less power are called subordinant groups, targeted groups or oppressed groups (Hardiman et al., 2007; Kirk & Ozakawa Rey, 2007; Tatum, 2003).

Contemporary theorists of social justice education have taken issue with the binary of oppressed and oppressor and have offered a more nuanced perspective. According to Hardiman et al. (2007), a third status for social identity exist called border identities. Border identities are those identities that "do not clearly fit into a binary model of oppressed/targeted or oppressor/advantaged" (p. 43). Examples of border identities include people who are biracial and people who are bisexual. Elaborating on the dynamics of border identities, Hardiman et al. (2007) state:

> Some social identities have, over time, migrated to the advantaged side of the binary or at least moved out of the targeted category as oppressors rename and redefine targeted groups for their own benefit. (p.43)

Examples of border identities that fit this description include people of Irish and Italian descent. Historically, both of these groups were considered immigrant outsiders and were subject to experiences of ethnic violence and/or ethno-religious oppression (Lipsitz, 2006; Tyler, 1994). In contemporary times, both Irish and Italians have assimilated into mainstream U.S. culture and are no longer targeted in the same way.

People with border identities can receive both privileges and/or disadvantage, depending upon how they are perceived and which aspect of their identity has emphasis placed on it. For example, a person who is bisexual and in a heterosexual marriage may be perceived as strictly heterosexual and may receive heterosexual privilege. However, a person who is bisexual and is in a same-sex relationship may be perceived as being strictly gay or lesbian and will not receive heterosexual privilege. They are also more likely to be targeted by heterosexism in the same way that people who identify as gay and lesbian are targeted (e.g., verbal abuse, harassment, violence, and refused the right to marry).

It is important to note that humans belong to multiple social groups at the same time (Hardiman et al., 2007; Kirk & Ozakawa Rey, 2007; Tatum, 2003). Belonging to multiple social groups means that every human has the potential to belong to dominant and subordinant groups simultaneously, thereby experiencing both privilege based on some identities and disadvantage based on other identities. In addition, oppression is not experienced based solely on membership in one social group; rather, it is mediated by the combination of all of one's identities, dominant, subordinant, and border. For example, an Asian man and an Asian woman may both experience racism; however, they will experience it from the perspective of their respective genders and biological sexes (as well as other identities). This phenomenon is described by Collins (2000) as *intersectionality*.

Belonging to multiple social groups also means that all humans have the potential to be targeted by multiple forms of oppression simultaneously. When this occurs, the effects are not simply cumulative or additive; they are multiplicative (Moane, 1999; Mullaly, 2002; Young, 1990). This means that the multiple oppressions experienced do not simply add to the experience of oppression; they multiply the experience of oppression. Mullaly uses the following equations to illustrate the multiplicative or *interactive* effects of targeted identities:

Equation 1: Oppression = a + b + (ab)   (pp. 154-155)

$$Oppression = race + gender + (race \times gender)$$

Using the previous example, this equation illustrates that Asian women must not only contend with racism and sexism; they must also contend with a more specific form of

oppression that intersects and targets Asian women. Adding identities further complicates the equation:

Equation 2: Oppression = a + b + c + (ab) + (ac) + (bc) + (abc)   (p. 155)

Oppression = race + gender + class + (race x gender) + (race x class) + (gender x class) + (race x gender x class)

To extend this example, an Asian woman who is poor must not only contend with racism, sexism, and classism; she must also deal with more specific forms of intersecting oppression that target her as an Asian woman (racism + sexism), someone who is Asian and poor (racism + classism), a poor woman (sexism + classism) and the combination of poor Asian woman.

Within the context of an oppressive system, one's social group memberships (and by extension, one's status as dominant or subordinant) will determine the nature of the messages of oppression that are instilled (i.e., internalized domination or subordination). Members of subordinant groups internalize messages of subordination, through which they learn to think, behave, and understand the world in ways that maintain and perpetuate oppression.

Oppression as a System

A third element of oppression theory that is relevant to this study of internalized oppression is the theoretical understanding of oppression as a social system. Hardiman, Jackson, and Griffin (2007), Frye (1983), Johnson (2001), Mulally (2002) and Young (1990) agree that oppression exists as a system. This means that oppression has structured and mutually reinforcing ways of reproducing inequality through the daily functioning of society and societal institutions.

Young (1990) understands oppression as a structural phenomenon. For Young, structural oppression refers to the inequities and injustices that are experienced by targeted groups on an everyday basis, the causes of which "are embedded in unquestioned norms, habits and symbols, in the assumptions underlying institutional rules and the collective consequences for following those rules" (p. 41). This oppression is structural in the sense that it is systematically reproduced in societal institutions through the "normal processes of everyday life" (p. 41), including the unconscious assumptions and reactions of everyday people, print, television, internet media, and cultural stereotypes. Members of society need only go about their daily lives as they usually do for oppression to be reproduced.

Similarly Hardiman et al. (2007) state that differential and unequal treatment (i.e., oppression) is both institutionalized and systematic. As a result, oppressive behaviors "often do not require the conscious thought or effort of individual members of oppressor group but are a part of normalized practices, policies and beliefs that become embedded in social structures" (p. 37).

In this analysis, oppression has become so thoroughly embedded into the structures and ways that society functions, that it is now a standard way of operating. Further, because oppression is normalized, inequality is seen as a "natural" way for society to function. This has the effect of making oppression largely invisible, thereby ensuring its perpetuation. One cannot identify or change what one cannot see.

One aspect of the systematic nature of oppression is that it occurs on multiple levels simultaneously. As a result, subordinant groups have an immersion experience in which their oppression is consistently present in a variety of forms, helping to instill,

perpetuate, and reinforce the internalization of that The terms used to describe these levels differ slightly, however, Mullaly (2002), Hardiman et al. (2007), and J. Katz (2003) agree that oppression occurs on three levels: (a) a personal or individual level, (b) an institutional or structural level, and (c) a societal or cultural level.

The individual or personal level of oppression refers to the conscious or unconscious thoughts, attitudes, actions and behaviors of individuals that contribute to, and actively or passively collude with oppression (Hardiman et al., 2007; J. Katz, 2003; Mullaly, 2002). Injustice and inequality at this level constitute both prejudice and discrimination (Blumenfeld,& Raymond, 1993; Pincus, 1996). However, it is through the addition of both the institutional and the cultural levels that the power of dominant groups becomes comprehensive enough to comprise a system (Hardiman et al., 2007; Mullaly, 2002).

The cultural or societal level of oppression consists of the thought patterns, values (implicit and explicit), norms, beliefs, perspectives, and discourses that contribute to and reinforce oppression (Hardiman et al., 2007; Mullaly, 2002). According to Hardiman et al., cultural norms serve the role of providing justification for oppression. If, for example being gay or lesbian is seen within a particular cultural context as unnatural, immoral, and/or evil, then the existence of heterosexism and homophobia may not only be tolerated, but encouraged and sanctioned within that context. Mullay (2002) describes cultural oppression as the "cement that reinforces the personal and structural oppression" (p. 49).

The institutional or structural level of oppression consists of the laws, processes, policies, and practices of societal institutions that intentionally or unintentionally

23

perpetuate and reinforce oppression. This level of oppression serves the role of codifying and legitimizing oppression though formal societal structures (Hardiman et al., 2007; Mullaly, 2002. Examples of institutions include government, education, the judicial system, and health care.

Each of the three levels of oppression embodies, produces, and reinforces oppression. All three levels are in operation simultaneously, creating multi-layered, self-perpetuating systems that work to ensure that targeted groups remain in a subordinant status. The relationship among the three levels of oppression is symbiotic in nature, that is, each level depends on, is influenced and reinforced by, and lends it support to the remaining levels (Hardiman et al., 2007; Mullaly, 2002). For example, the cultural level of oppression is influenced by institutions, such as print, television, internet media, and the music industry. The institutional level, in turn, is influenced by the individuals that make decisions, provide leadership and create policies for the institution.

A third aspect of the systematic nature of oppression is that it establishes and maintains a social hierarchy (L. Bell, 1997, 2007; Moane, 1999; Mullaly, 2002). Oppressive systems create and preserve a particular set of rules regarding the functioning, organization, and boundaries of human relationships and institutional structures within a society. This set of rules establishes a pecking order in which dominant groups are afforded a privileged status at the expense of subordinant groups (L. Bell, 1997, 2007; Hardiman et al., 2007; Johnson, 2001 Moane, 1999; Mullaly, 2002; Wildman, 1996). As a result of this hierarchy, dominant groups are the recipients of numerous advantages, including the inequitable distribution of wealth and access to power and resources (L. Bell, 1997, 2007; Johnson, 2001; Miller, 1986; Young, 1990). This hierarchy is further

represented through the privileging of things associated with dominant groups, including aesthetics, culture, norms and values (Johnson, 2001; Mullay, 2002; Wildman, 1996; Young, 1990). The roles within oppressive hierarchies, that is, oppressed and oppressor, dominant and subordinant, target and agent, are intertwined and mutually dependent. Systems of oppression require that the people within them play the designated role for their group, be it dominant or subordinant, so that the system can function (Love, 1998, personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002).

<p style="text-align: center;">Internalized Oppression within the Context of Oppression Theory</p>

Many theorists agree that internalized oppression plays an important role in the maintenance of oppression (L. Bell, 1997, 2007; Hardiman & Jackson, 1997; Hardiman et al., 2007; Love, 1998, personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Moane, 1999; Mullaly, 2002; Pharr, 1996, 1997; Sherover-Marcuse, 1997). Within oppression theory, there are two important points regarding how the concept of internalized oppression fits into an analysis of oppression that must be considered. The first is that internalized oppression is an effect or by-product of living within an oppressive context. The second is that internalized oppression is a condition necessary for the maintenance and perpetuation of oppression to occur. These perspectives are not mutually exclusive; internalized oppression is both a result of and a condition necessary for oppression.

As a by-product of oppression, internalized oppression occurs as a result of living in an oppressive context (Lipsky, 1987; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Moanne, 1999). According to Pharr (1996), systems of oppression often employ specific tools to achieve the subjugation of targeted groups. These tools include, but are not

limited to, stereotyping, scapegoating, and blaming the victim, all of which have an

impact in two areas:

> Stereotyping, scapegoating and blaming the victim make targeted groups feel there is something wrong with us individually and as identity groups (such as women), rob us of our sense of self and our respect for others, and prevent us from supporting and joining others. (p. 33)

When discussing internalized oppression, Pharr is very careful to name that it is more

than simply individual low self-esteem:

> Whereas low self-esteem can be caused by injurious *individual* treatment, internalized oppression originates from pervasive negative cultural messages and mistreatment toward a person because of who s/he is *as part of a group.* (pp. 34-35)

Thus, as a by-product of oppression, internalized oppression not only impacts the

way an individual member of a targeted group may feel about herself or himself, it also

impacts the way that s/he may feel about other members of their social group. It is

important to note that internalized oppression is a by-product of historical and

contemporary experiences of oppression (Brave Heart, 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2003; Brown

1995; B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995, 2006; personal communication, B. Love, July 12,

2002; Pharr, 1996).

As a condition necessary for the maintenance and perpetuation of oppression to

occur, internalized oppression is seen as a fundamental aspect of oppressive systems.

Love's Pillars of Oppression model, for example, identifies internalized oppression as

one of the two "pillars" or foundations upon which oppression rests (Fletcher, 1999;

personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002). According to Love, the statuses of

oppressed or oppressor, dominant or subordinant, target or agent, are not innate to human

existence. Rather, they are roles that systems of oppression require to function.

As humans learn what it means to be a member of society and a member of their respective social identity groups, they simultaneously learn the requisite rules, codes, behaviors, and worldviews necessary to maintain and perpetuate existing systems of oppression. Through a process of internalizing the oppression, members of subordinant groups learn how to behave and function in ways that support and maintain an oppressive status quo, thereby ensuring the maintenance and reproduction of oppression. Hardiman et al. (2007) argue that systems of oppression are most successful when both dominant and subordinant groups internalize and accept the hierarchical relationships that are characteristic of systems of oppression. According to Sherover-Marcuse (1997), the perpetuation of oppression is made possible through the continuous socialization of dominant and subordinant groups into their respective roles within oppressive systems.

The overarching point for both of these perspectives is that internalized oppression serves as the engine, or driving force, for systems of oppression. Therefore, comprehensive efforts to address and interrupt oppression must necessarily take it into account to be successful.

Internalized Oppression: Individual and Group Level Phenomenon

Internalized oppression is both an individual experience and a multiple and intersecting group level phenomenon. Naming internalized oppression as having both multiple group and individual levels is important, because members of subordinant groups do not have universal or monolithic identities or experiences. It should not be assumed, for example, that all women who suffer from internalized sexism have the same experience of internalized sexism.

In systems of oppression, individuals may be targeted in similar ways based on their social group memberships. Accordingly, the members of a subordinant group can experience identity-based patterns and manifestations of internalized oppression that may closely resemble one another. For example, people of color are targeted by racism. Part of the experience of racism is a societal preference for physical features that are associated with whiteness. Therefore, many people of color experience similar patterns of internalized racism related to their physical features (e.g., skin color, hair texture), making these patterns individual experiences that are also a shared experience and a group level phenomenon.

Members of subordinant groups may also be targeted in different and unique ways, depending on intersecting social group identities and individual experiences. Consequently, the resulting internalized oppression can also be different and unique; no two are incidents of internalized oppression are exactly the same. They are specific to the individual in which they occur. Using the previous example, two people of color may both have patterns of internalized oppression connected to their skin color. However, they could have differing genders, social classes, or abilities, all of which may have some impact on that pattern. Further, the specific details and experiences that underlie the pattern are a result of the *lived experience* of the individual subordinant group member, making it unique. For example, one individual might have experiences related to family that impacts the pattern of internalized oppression; whereas, the other may have experiences related to school or their peers.

Whether examining internalized oppression at the meta- or group level or at the micro- or individual level, the point remains the same. Internalized oppression at each level supports and helps to maintain existing systems of oppression.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

Living within the confines of an oppressive system has detrimental effects. In *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, Woodson (2000) describes the effects of being socialized within an educational system controlled by the dominant group:

> When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his "proper place" and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one for his benefit. His education makes it necessary. (p. xix)

This quote demonstrates Woodson's understanding of part of the form and function of internalized oppression: cognitive, behavioral, and emotional control of a subordinant group by a dominant group. Commenting on the status of dominant groups within subordinant communities, Woodson writes:

> As a rule, therefore, the educated Negro prefers to buy his food from a white grocer because he has been taught that the Negro is not clean. It does not matter how often a Negro washes his hands, then, he cannot clean them, and it does not matter how often a white man uses his hands, he cannot soil them. (pp. xix-xx)

In this quote, Woodson explains one of the foundational aspects of internalized oppression: the preference for and deference to dominant groups and things associated with them. Written in 1933, Woodson's work was pioneering in its analysis of some of the dynamics of domination, subordination, and internalized oppression.

Though Woodson does not use the language of "internalized oppression," the phenomenon he depicted is illustrative of it. Other theorists writing on the effects of oppression on targeted groups have offered similar descriptive accounts of internalized oppression. For example, in *Toward A New Psychology of Women*, Miller (1986)

describes the effects of sexism on the psychological functioning of women. Her description of the attribution of superiority to the dominant group, care-taking and focusing on the needs of the dominant group, and deference to the dominant group, can be described as internalized oppression.

Miller (1986) does not use the term internalized oppression in her analysis. Though it is important to examine literature that describes phenomena that can be characterized as internalized oppression but does not necessarily use the term, this literature review will focus specifically on literature and theoreticians that utilize the language and framework of "internalized oppression." The purpose of restricting this literature in such a fashion is to place particular emphasis on the ways the concept of internalized oppression has been theorized, defined, and constructed.

My examination of the general literature on internalized oppression has identified three themes: internalized oppression as a *process*, internalized oppression as a *state,* and internalized oppression as *action*. The first theme, internalized oppression as a *process*, focuses on how internalized oppression is acquired, instilled, perpetuated, and maintained. The second theme, internalized oppression as a *state*, is concerned with the characteristics, thoughts, and feelings that are consistently displayed by subordinant group members when internalized oppression is present and in operation. The last theme, internalized oppression as *action*, focuses on the ways in which internalized oppression is consistently enacted and reproduced in the intermittent and everyday behaviors and practices of subordinant groups. These themes are not mutually exclusive; they can and often do overlap theoretically and in practice.

For this literature review, I examine and contrast existing definitions of internalized oppression. In doing so, I illustrate how these definitions demonstrate the themes of *process*, *state* and *action*. Further, I synthesize these definitions and offer my own definition of internalized oppression and offer a more in-depth discussion of the defining elements of internalized oppression (i.e., *state, process,* and *action*).

Internalized Oppression Defined

Pheterson (1986) offers the following definition of internalized oppression:

> Internalized oppression is the incorporation and acceptance by individuals within an oppressed group of the prejudices against them within the dominant society. Internalized oppression is likely to consist of self-hatred, self concealment, fear of violence and feelings of inferiority, resignation, isolation, powerlessness, and gratefulness for being allowed to survive. Internalized oppression is the mechanism within an oppressive system for perpetuating domination not only by external control but also by building subservience into the minds of the oppressed groups. (p.146)

This definition presents two out of the three themes found in my examination of the literature on internalized oppression. The two themes highlighted are internalized oppression as *process* and internalized oppression as a *state*.

Three processes are mentioned in Pheterson's definition: incorporation, acceptance, and the *building* of subservience. Incorporation and acceptance imply the passive reception and integration of internalized oppression by subordinant groups, whereas the third process (the building of subservience) implies that the instillation of internalized oppression is an intentional effort on the part of oppressive systems. Thus, Pheterson's definition of internalized oppression includes two complimentary processes: it is instilled by oppressive systems and accepted and incorporated by subordinant groups. In naming what internalized oppression is likely to "consist of," Pheterson is

naming the feelings, qualities, and characteristics that are potentially present in a state of internalized oppression, some of which are commonly identified patterns of internalized oppression (see Appendix A).

Pharr (1996, 1997) similarly offers two related definitions of internalized oppression that highlight the themes of internalized oppression as a *process* and as a *state*. Pharr (1996) states the following: "Freedom from internalized oppression – receiving the negative messages of society and internalizing them as self-hating, self-blaming, self policing – is directly related to liberation" (p. 33). In this definition, two processes are mentioned: "receiving" and "internalizing." The end results of these processes, self-hate, self-blame, and self-policing are also named. This definition highlights the themes in Internalized oppression as *process* and as a *state*.

Pharr (1997) offers a second definition: "When the victim of oppression is led to believe the negative views of the oppressor, this phenomenon is called internalized oppression. It takes the form of self hatred, which can express itself in depression, despair and self abuse" (p. 60). This definition highlights internalized oppression as a *state*; believing the views of the dominant group results in the subordinant group developing feelings about themselves and a perspective of themselves that is based on the thinking of the dominant group.

Morris' (1987) and Brown's (1986) definitions of internalized oppression further highlight the themes of internalized oppression as a *process* and *state*. Morris defines internalized oppression as "the internalization of the things said about the oppressed by the oppressor" (p. 13). Reflecting on the meaning of the terms "oppression" and "internalization," Morris states, "Together they imply the taking on or consuming of the

33

ideas and beliefs of the oppressor so that the oppressor's belief become a part of the oppressed psychology" (p. 13). Morris' definition explicitly defines internalized oppression as a *process*, yet the discussion of this definition also emphasizes that the content of the *internalization process* is integrated into the psychological make-up of the oppressed. Similar to Morris, Brown also explicitly defines internalized oppression as a *process*:

> Internalized oppression can be described as the process by which a member of an oppressed or stigmatized group internalizes into her or his core identity and self concept all or part of the negative stereotypes and expectations held by the culture at larger regarding that group. (p. 100)

Brown's definition goes further in connecting the *process* of internalized oppression to the *psychological state* of the oppressed. It emphasizes specific aspects of the psychology of the oppressed that are impacted by internalized oppression, that is, self-identity and self-concept.

Moane's (1999) definition of internalized oppression highlights the themes of internalized oppression as a *state* and as *action*. According to Moane, hierarchical systems impact the psychological development of the individuals living within those systems. Thus, living within an oppressive context has an impact on and ramifications for the psychological functioning of oppressed groups. In her analysis of the psychology of oppression and liberation, Moane (1999) states, "My first aim is to develop an understanding of how social conditions, particularly oppressive social conditions, can create debilitating psychological patterns, often referred to as 'internalized oppression'" (p. 1). The psychological lens through which Moane analyzes the literature on internalized oppression centers on "psychological and behavioral patterns, the realm of individual thought, feelings and action" (p. 1). For Moane, internalized oppression

consists of the debilitating psychological and behavioral patterns that develop within

subordinant groups that manifest in the realm of individual thought, feeling, and action

that are the result of living within oppressive contexts. Moane's definition explicitly

acknowledges both the existence of the psychological effects of oppression and that these

effects are seen in the action of the oppressed.

In my review of the literature, there were three characterizations offered for the

term *internalized subordination*, that is, the internalized oppression of subordinant groups

(L. Bell, 1997; Griffin, 1997; Hardiman & Jackson, 1997; Hardiman et al., 2007). Two of

these view internalized oppression as a *process*. While both understand internalized

oppression to have elements of *process*, they differ as to the content of that process. Bell

states, "Internalized subordination consists of accepting and incorporating the negative

images of themselves fostered by the dominant society" (p. 12). Similarly, Griffin

describes internalized subordination as: "When members of the target social group have

adopted the agent group's ideology and accept their subordinant status as deserved,

natural and inevitable." (p. 76). While Bell's account is limited to the internalization of

images, Griffin includes a broader view of what is internalized by subordinant groups,

that is, the internalization of the dominant group's entire ideology. Further, Griffin notes

the subordinant group's internalization and acceptance of their subordinant status.

Hardiman and Jackson (1997) offer the third characterization of internalized

subordination: "Internalized subordination refers to ways in which targets collude with

their own oppression" (p. 21). Hardiman and Jackson further state:

> People who have been socialized in an oppressive environment, and who accept
> the dominant group's ideology about their group, have learned to accept a
> definition that is hurtful and limiting. They think, feel, and act in ways that

demonstrate the devaluation of their group and of themselves as members of that group. (p. 21)

Hardiman and Jackson's account of internalized subordination not only highlights the presence of internalized oppression in the thoughts and feelings of subordinant groups, it also describes internalized oppression as a form of action, specifically collusion.

Love (1998) frames internalized oppression as both a *process* and *action*. Love defines internalized oppression as:

> the process whereby members of the target group, or the subordinant group, take in emotionally, psychologically, whether consciously or unconsciously, it doesn't matter, the belief system. . . the sets of rationales that have been created by the dominant group to justify the subordination of the target group . . . its believing the rationale that has been created and then it's the application of that rationale in both one's individual relationships with members of one's own group as well as with members of the dominant group, as well as the application of those ideas in one's institutional and societal relationships. (pp. 3-4)

Love highlights three processes: "taking in" the rationales created by the dominant group, "believing" the rationales created by the dominant group, and "applying" the rationales in one's relationships. Love's description of internalized oppression highlights the theme of *action*, that is, the application of the rationales of the dominant group.

Though internalized oppression can be alternately described as a *state*, *process*, and/or *action*, or some combination thereof, the conceptualization of internalized oppression that I present in this research contends that a comprehensive model of internalized oppression requires all three. Together, the themes of internalized oppression as a *state*, as a *process,* and as *action* constitute what I call the "defining elements" of internalized oppression. I am, therefore, defining internalized oppression as the conscious or unconscious *states*, *processes*, and *actions* that directly or indirectly influence or cause

subordinant groups to support, collude with, perpetuate, or otherwise help to maintain the systems of oppression that target them. While, internalized oppression affects both dominant and subordinant groups, this definition focuses on the experience of subordinant groups.

As noted earlier, the various elements of internalized oppression are presented separately for the purpose of analysis. In operation, however, they are inextricably intertwined; each depends on the others for mutual support and reinforcement. Internalized oppression is not a linear phenomenon; it is complex and dynamic and occurs on multiple levels simultaneously. Thus, when internalized oppression is in operation, the elements of *state*, *process,* and *action* are usually happening concurrently. These elements combine to create an intricate, multifaceted, and multi-leveled system through which internalized oppression is instilled, perpetuated, maintained, and enacted.

To say that internalized oppression exists as a *process* is to say that there are identifiable methods and procedures through which subordinate groups acquire and perpetuate internalized oppression. There are at least four processes that together make up this element of internalized oppression: internalization, socialization, intergenerational transmission and acceptance.

Internalization is the process through which the experience of oppression becomes a part of the core identity, self-concept, and self-knowledge that subordinant group members hold about themselves and others who share that identity (Brown, 1986; Morris, 1987). *Socialization* is the process through which members of subordinant groups learn what it means to be a member of that group; they also learn the role of the subordinant group within a system of oppression (Harro, 2010). *Intergenerational*

transmission refers to the processes thorough which internalized oppression is reproduced, transmitted, and instilled from one generation to the next (E. Duran, 2006; B. Duran, E. Duran, & Brave Heart, 1999; Fonagy, 1999; Kellerman, 2001). *Acceptance* refers to the conscious and unconscious ways that members of subordinant groups agree or collude with the systems of oppression that target them.

To say that internalized oppression exists as a *state* is to say that the characteristics of subordinant groups that are attributable to or that have developed as a result of being targeted by systems of oppression are consistently present and in operation within the daily lives and functioning of subordinant groups. The essence of a *state* of internalized oppression is that subordinant groups consistently function in a way that consciously or unconsciously supports, colludes with, and helps to maintain the very systems that are the source of their oppression. There are at least two states in which we find the existence and impact of internalized oppression within subordinant groups: the *psychological state* and the *spiritual state*. These two states are not mutually exclusive of one another; they are interdependent and co-exist symbiotically.

The *psychological state* of internalized oppression consists of the psychological conditions, attributes, and day-to-day psychological and emotional functioning of subordinant groups that have been impacted or altered by the experience of oppression, such that subordinant groups collude with and support their oppression. This means that the experience of oppression and the effects of that experience have been integrated into the psychological makeup of the subordinant groups in such a way as to create a system of psychological functioning that colludes with, perpetuates, and helps to maintain

38

systems of oppression. This state refers to the psychological functioning within and between individuals, as well as the psychological functioning within and between groups.

To say that internalized oppression exists as a *spiritual state* is to say that oppression does harm to and is internalized within the spirit. In the literature on internalized oppression, the terms "spirit" and "soul" are utilized from three different perspectives: secular, spiritual, and religious. Across these different perspectives, there is agreement that the souls of subordinant groups have been impacted by and carry the wounds of the experience of oppression, and this pain is integrated into and manifested in the spirit.

The final element of internalized oppression, internalized oppression as *action* refers to the daily and intermittent actions of subordinant groups. To name internalized oppression as *action* is to say that the everyday and intermittent practices, deeds, and behaviors of subordinant groups consciously or unconsciously support, reproduce, collude with, and perpetuate the systems of oppression that target them. This happens repetitively, and occurs through patterned behavior, that is, regularly occurring behaviors that are influenced by or have developed as a direct result of being targeted by systems of oppression (Jackins, 1999; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002).

CHAPTER 4

INTERNALIZED OPPRESSION AS PROCESS

Process is the first of the defining elements of internalized oppression. It refers to the identifiable ways through which subordinate groups internalize the negative ideologies and beliefs of systems of oppression and the ways in which internalized oppression is maintained and perpetuated. Love (personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002), L. Bell (1997), Brown (1986), Pharr (1996), Pheterson (1986), Griffin, (1997) and other theorists present different aspects of internalized oppression as a process. In this section, I discuss the key processes of internalized oppression along with illustrative examples.

This section begins with an explanation of the psychological construct of internalization (which is itself a process) and is followed by a discussion of three processes identified through my research on internalized oppression: socialization, intergenerational transmission, and acceptance. Each one of these processes is intimately interconnected with the others, as part of the larger process of internalization. However, they are also distinct and separate processes and therefore worthy of individual discussion. In the daily lives of subordinant groups, these processes operate in a unified and consistent manner to instill, maintain, and perpetuate internalized oppression. They are presented here as separate processes solely for the purpose of analysis. The processes outlined in this chapter occur for both dominant and subordinant groups. This section, however, focuses specifically on those processes related to the internalized oppression of subordinant groups, that is, internalized subordination.

The processes of internalized oppression occur at both group and individual levels. Members of subordinant groups are targeted based upon their social identities. the processes that contribute to the instillation, maintenance, and perpetuation of oppression are often commonly experienced by many members of a given subordinant group. For example, many women are socialized to defer to and to be subservient toward men (Miller, 1986). While members of a subordinant group may experience the same processes, the content and experience of the processes differs from individual to individual while many women have been socialized to defer to and to be subservient toward men, the content and experience of that socialization are not the same. The persons they were socialized by, how they were socialized and their reaction to the socialization (among other things) may differ. The processes may also differ according to a variety of factors, including, but not limited to, personal experience, social group memberships, and historical context.

<div align="center">Internalization</div>

Generally speaking, *internalization* is the process by which values, beliefs, and ways of understanding that are part of an external culture become aspects of the internal meaning-making of individuals within that culture (Wallis & Poulton, 2001, p. 1). Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky, an early theorist studying internalization, argued that to understand the meaning-making of any individual participant in a culture, one must take into account the social relations of that individual's cultural context (Wertch, 1985, p. 58). According to Wertch, Vygotsky believed that the external social reality of a person becomes "internalized" through the development of the person's internal

psychological functioning and development. Vygotsky saw internalization as a process in which phenomena happening on an external *social* plane become a part of an internal *psychological* plane. According to Vygotsky:

> Any function in the child's cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears on the social plane, and then on the psychological plane. First it appears between people as an interpsychological category, and then within the child as an intrapsychological category.
> (cited in Wertsch, 1985, p. 60)

By cultural development, Vygotsky is referring to the development of the child within a culture, the child's internalized notions of appropriate behavior and beliefs, as well as the language, ways of thinking, and tools of the larger society. The social plane described here refers to the social context in which the child exists and in which the child is learning, observing, being taught, and socialized. An interpsychological category is a shared understanding or frame of reference as exhibited through a concrete social interaction.

To return to the gender example given above, if a female child witnesses an interaction between a male and female parent in which the male parent exhibits patronizing behavior or superiority and the female parent acquiesces, that child is witnessing a shared interpsychological category of sexism and male dominance.

An intrapsychological category is a psychological construct within the mind of the child. This means that phenomena occurring within a child's social context will become a part of the psychological landscape or intrapsychological functioning of the child through the child's cultural development on the social plane and also on the psychological plane. This explanation closely resembles conceptions of "socialization" that occur in US accounts of the internalization process. I return to them below.

There are two points to be made in drawing upon Vygotsky's conceptualization of internalization to help theorize internalization as used by social justice educators. The first point is that internalization does not occur through a single interaction. For internalization to occur, the message that is internalized occurs many times in different ways across multiple interactions. Using the previous example, it is not only a single interaction between parents that a girl child might witness male dominance. She may also see male dominance played out in the interactions between other adults and in the media, as well as experience it in school from interactions between herself, her teachers, and her peers. Although Vygotsky does not further theorize this repeated aspect of a child's cultural development on the social and on the psychological level, I extend this notion through the ideas of socialization and intergenerational transmission, discussed below.

During the process of internalization, phenomena that are observed or experienced on the external social plane do not simply move or shift verbatim to the internal plane (Wertch, 1985). Instead, Vygotsky proposes that it is through external social interactions that the intrapsychological level is actually *constructed*. Wertch draws upon the work of Leont'ev to further develop this point:

> Thus the process of internalization is not the transferral of an external activity to a preexisting, internal "Plane of consciousness": it is the process in which this internal plane is formed. (p. 64)

This means that the social reality of the child, as witnessed through social interactions, becomes the basis upon which she or he consciously or unconsciously builds an internal reality. For members of targeted groups, this means that the oppressive social interactions that they witness and experience becomes a part of the foundation upon which they construct their own psychological existence.

A second point made by Vygotsky is that not everything that is witnessed or experienced on the social plane is internalized. He stresses that in the cultural development of the child, the psychological is not a carbon copy of the social. I draw upon this later in my discussion of "acceptance" as a process of internalization, where I argue that not everything that is witnessed or experienced on the social plane is necessarily internalized with the same force or meanings. Thus, to return to my earlier example, the girl child who witnessed acquiescence on the part of her mother may accompany her mother to a store where the mother interacts with a male butcher in ways that are empowered. The child may witness this and other examples of her mother interacting with other men in ways that are contradictory to the interaction she witnessed with her father. As a result the child may internalize the seemingly contradictory notions of both women's empowerment and also of women's acquiescence. Alternatively, if her mother does not act in ways that are empowering, the child may begin to fantasize or imagine ways of being empowered herself, a notion she may internalize from other sources than her mother's example.

It is not possible to predict how a child watching an interaction between female and male parents may make meaning of, incorporate, or reject the behaviors of one or both parents. Using the previous example, the girl child watching an interaction between her female and male parents may choose to reject the behaviors of one or both parents. There are many factors involved, some of which I later refer to as socialization and intergenerational transmission. For example, the mother of the child, upon seeing the child's reaction, may have a conversation with her that reframes the interaction for the daughter in such a way that the meanings are changed or different.

Schafer (1968) offers a more active interpretation of the subject during the

process of internalization. He defines internalization as

> all those processes by which the subject transforms real or imagined regulatory
> interactions with his environment, and real or imagined characteristics of his
> environment into inner regulations and characteristics. (p. 9)

Schafer's definition suggests that it is the *subject* who does the work of internalization.

This is an important point, distinct from Vygotsky. The internalization of oppression is

not something that simply occurs to subordinant groups. Instead, Schafer suggests that

members of subordinant groups are participants in the process of internalization.

However, Schafer makes a very important clarifying point, that while it is the subject that

does the work of internalization, "it may be in response to considerable environmental

pressure" (p. 9). Thus, while members of subordinant groups are active participants in the

process of internalizing oppression, their participation is in itself a response to

overwhelming external phenomena, namely being targeted by systems of oppression.

Schafer offers additional insights into the process of internalization. In reference

to the use of the word "inner" in the previous quote, Shafer makes two additional

clarifications:

> First of all, … the stimulation and impact of the [internalized] regulation does not
> depend on the actual presence, action or emotional position of the external object
> that was once party to the original interactions. Second, "inner" indicates that the
> subject locates the previously external regulatory agent within some self-
> boundary. (p. 10)

The two points being made here are distinct but very closely related. Once a

regulation or rule has been internalized, it is no longer located solely within the external

environment; instead it becomes located within the individual as well. As such, it is no

longer necessary for the original regulation to be externally present for its effects to be

felt. The regulation now resides inside the person who internalized it. If, for example, a person of color has internalized whiteness as a standard of beauty, they will believe and uphold this standard of their own accord, whether or not this standard continues to be present in the external environment.

Kaufman (1992) offers a view on internalization that focuses on the content of the internalization process. Kaufman's view is grounded in his research on shame, a commonly identified pattern of internalized oppression (see Appendix A). According to Kaufman, internalization has three separate facets:

1. Internalization of specific feelings, beliefs and attitudes about ourselves that come to reside in the core of our sense of self.
2. Internalization of the ways that we are treated by people whom we consider significant.
3. Internalization of identifications (with other people) in the forms of internal guiding images. (p. 41-42)

Kaufman's unique perspective focuses not simply on the process of internalization, but on internalization contextualized within a particular pattern of internalized oppression. Interactions with other people and the ways we come to see ourselves based on those interactions become part of the basis of what is internalized. Kaufman believes that internalization happens principally through identification. Identification is the process whereby an individual patterns himself or herself after another person whom he or she considers important through modeling behavior and observational learning (Bradshaw, 1988; Kaufman, 1992; Kaufman & Raphael, 1996). Initial identifications usually occur within the family, most often with parents, but can include other people who are considered significant (Bradshaw, 1988; Fossum & Mason, 1986; Kaufman, 1992; Kaufman & Raphael, 1996).

Kaufman (1992) states that humans develop beliefs and feelings about themselves based upon how they are treated by those with whom they identify. If, for example, a child with dark skin is repeatedly told that his skin color is unattractive by a parent or someone of significance, the child may come to internalize this belief and learn to see himself and his skin color as unattractive. Kaufman further states that humans internalize the ways that they are *treated* by people with whom they identify and subsequently treat themselves the same way. Using the previous example, if the same dark-skinned child is repeatedly treated as though he were unattractive, the child may internalize this treatment and learn to treat himself as though he were unattractive.

Kaufman's last point is that humans internalize their identifications with parents or other significant persons through visual images. These visual images then serve to guide or control the inner self. Kaufman (1992) states:

> What we see and observe then transfers inside the self through the medium of visual imagery. The inner process of seeing visual images in the mind's eye mediates the transfer from outer to inner. What is first experienced or observed outside the self is taken inside, or internalized, through identification. The internal image then forms the basis for the evolving relationship which the self comes to have with the self. (p. 36)

These images, referred to by Kaufman as *identification images*, are powerful in their ability to shape and influence the development of the inner self. The content of the identification images depends on the dynamics of the relationship and the nature of the identification. If a child with dark skin identifies with a parent who believes that dark skin is unattractive, it is possible that the child will have identification images that reinforce that belief. It is further possible that these identification images will then serve as the foundation of the child's relationship with himself. If this occurs, it means the

parent's belief, which is ultimately a reflection of racist societal beliefs, has been internalized; it is now a belief that resides in and is acted upon by the child.

However, identification images go further in their effect. Over time, humans experience identification images unconsciously through an inner voice that is not their own (Kaufman, 1992). This inner voice reflects the content of the identification image, that is, if the identification image degrades dark skin, the inner voice does the same. The specific message of the voice could take many forms, depending on the particular circumstances of the individual experiencing it (e.g., You are ugly. Your dark skin is ugly. No one want wants a dark-skinned child.). This means that members of subordinant groups could not only internalize oppressive feelings, beliefs, attitudes, and oppressive treatment, they can also develop an inner voice that reinforces what has been internalized. The dark-skinned child who has internalized oppressive beliefs and ways of being treated will now have a distinct inner voice that supports and reinforces this internalization.

Kaufman's three facets of internalization can also work in a positive and non-oppressive manner. If, for example a child is repeatedly told that she is beautiful and wonderful, the child may then internalize these words and develop a sense of self that incorporates this perspective. Likewise, if a child is repeatedly treated in a loving way, the child may internalize this and treat herself accordingly. The child may also internalize loving identifications, images, and inner voices that promote a loving and healthy relationship with the self.

There are many perspectives on the process of *socialization*, its components, and how it functions. The following discussion does not seek to resolve the differences in these perspectives. Rather, it presents a broad overview of the process of socialization and the ways in which it assists in the instillation, maintenance, and perpetuation of internalized oppression.

Socialization is the process whereby humans learn what it means to be a member of a given culture or society (Maccoby, 2007). It is also a process by which humans learn what it means to be a member of a specific social group (Grusec & Hastings, 2007; Harro, 2010; Maccoby, 2007; Woods & Kurtz-Cortes, 2007). Because human beings belong to multiple social groups simultaneously, multiple socialization processes occur concurrently. This may include socialization for both dominant and subordinant identities.

A working-class man, for example, will be socialized as both a member of the working class (a targeted group) and as a man (a dominant group). There may also be a more specific socialization that occurs at the intersection of those two identities. Thus, this same man may receive socialization, as a man, as someone of the working class and, more specifically, as a working-class man. The intersecting complexity of the socialization process increases as more identities are considered.

Through the process of socialization, humans acquire the understandings necessary to function within their respective social contexts. According to Grusec and Hastings (2007), this includes "the acquisition of rules, roles, standards, and values across the social, emotional, cognitive and personal domains" (p. 1). For members of

subordinant groups, the process of socialization includes acquiring the values, rules, behavior patterns, norms, social standards, cultural understandings, and expectations of the dominant group as well as learning one's subordinant role within systems of oppression (Fanon, 1967; Harro 2010; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Memmi, 1965). This can include being socialized to believe and accept that their oppression and their subordinant role within systems of oppression is normal (Hardiman et al., 2007).

Harro (2010) presents a cyclical multistage model that describes how socialization instills, perpetuates, and maintains internalized oppression. According to Harro, as humans learn what it means to belong to specific social groups, they are simultaneously socialized to play the role of dominant or subordinant within systems of oppression. Members of subordinant groups are socialized in ways that ensure that they uphold existing systems of oppression and act within the confines of the roles prescribed for them.

Harro's model consists of six stages:

1. The Beginning
2. First Socialization
3. Institutional and Cultural Socialization
4. Enforcements
5. Results
6. Actions

A seventh component of Harro's model, "The Core," consists of the individual emotions that act to keep the cycle in place and is explained further in the paragraphs below.

Harro's first stage, "The Beginning," suggests that even in the womb, people are ascribed a set of identities that will shape their dominant or subordinant status within existing systems of oppression. Harro further notes that humans are born with no

consciousness or self-awareness. As a result, humans have no initial basis upon which to challenge or dispute the identities ascribed to them. Harro states, "We just *are* who we are" (p. 46).

During First Socialization, which happens as soon as we are born, humans are taught by their caretakers (i.e., immediate family and loved ones) what roles they are expected to play, the rules that they are expected to follow, and the norms to which they are expected to adhere. This happens on two levels, the *intrapersonal level*, which refers to the ways that humans think about themselves and on the *interpersonal level,* which refers to the ways that humans relate to others.

It is here that members of the subordinant groups are first taught what it means to be members of those groups and where the messages of internalized oppression are first introduced. The messages that are received during the First Socialization stage generally reflect the hegemony of the dominant culture. This means that members of subordinant groups potentially receive those messages that train them to remain in a subordinant role.

Often, the socialization messages passed on during First Socialization consist of material that has not been analyzed or critiqued. The caretakers responsible for First Socialization may not have thought about the ways in which they are socializing their children. In doing so, they are passing on what they were taught without critical examination. Harro notes that because socialization occurs from the moment we are born, children may not have developed the ability to critique the socialization that they receive. In addition, because these messages come from people who are trusted, there may also be less of a reason to question the socialization process.

However, oppressive socialization during this stage of the cycle is not always a certainty. There are instances in which caretakers do think critically and are conscious about the process of socialization and will take care not to pass on oppressive messages. Black parents, for example, might ensure that their child is aware of the richness of Black history and culture and emphasize culturally based standards of beauty and internalizing corresponding messages during the process of socialization.

During the Institutional and Cultural socialization stage of Harro's (2010) model, the sources of socialization broaden to include the respective institutions and cultural contexts that humans are surrounded by. Harro states:

> The media (television, the Internet, advertising, newspaper and radio), our language patterns, the lyrics to songs, our cultural practices and holidays, and the very assumptions on which our society is built all contribute to the reinforcement of the biased messages and stereotypes we receive. (p. 48)

Because there is an increase in the number of sources for socialization during this stage, the opportunities for the transmission or contradiction of oppressive messages comes more frequently and from numerous places. Further, according to Harro, these oppressive messages are "woven into every structural thread of the fabric of our culture" (p. 48). Subordinant groups are surrounded by and immersed in an environment that consistently reflects and reinforces their subordinant status. In cases in which a child has been socialized in conscious and non-oppressive ways, the messages received during this stage may contradict what is taught at home rather than reinforce it.

The fourth stage of Harro's (2010) cycle of socialization, Enforcements, consists of rewards and/or punishments that ensure that members of subordinant groups adhere to their prescribed roles in oppressive systems. According to Harro, members of subordinant groups who adhere to their role and go along with the status quo are rewarded for their

behavior. For example, people who are gender-conforming may be held in high esteem by their peers and seen as "normal." Conversely, members of subordinant groups who challenge their prescribed roles and who refuse to conform to the status quo are punished. People who are gender queer (i.e., non-gender-conforming), for example, may be called names, harassed, and/or subjected to violence.

Enforcements may have a wide variety of individual, institutional, and cultural sources. Using the previous example, people who are gender queer may also be harassed by friends, family, or classmates, mocked on television, denounced in churches, discriminated against in the workplace, or not covered under laws that are meant to prevent and prosecute hate crimes. Together, positive and negative enforcements create a complex system that encourages the acceptance of a subordinant status and discourages anything that violates the dominant-defined norm and status quo.

The next stage of Harro's (2010) cycle, *Results*, details the outcome of the socialization process. Harro states:

> By participating in our roles as targets, we reinforce stereotypes, collude in our own demise and perpetuate the system of oppression. This learned helplessness is often called *internalized oppression* because we have learned to become our own oppressors from within. (p. 49)

For the members of subordinant groups the result of a socialization process that teaches and enforces a subordinant role in systems of inequality is, predictably, internalized oppression. In naming the results of the cycle of socialization, Harro also names specific behaviors and emotions including anger, low self-esteem, hopelessness, and self-destructive behaviors, all of which are commonly cited patterns of internalized oppression, which are listed in Appendix A.

In the last stage of the Cycle of Socialization, *Actions*, humans are confronted with the decision of what to do about the results of their socialization process. Harro (2010) presents two options: Choose a direction for change, or do nothing and continue to perpetuate the cycle. According to Harro, the easiest thing to do is to do nothing. Although, this comes at a cost:

> We fail to realize that we have become participants just by doing nothing. This cycle has a life of its own. It doesn't need our active support because it has its own centrifugal force. It goes on and unless we choose to interrupt it, it will continue to go on. (p. 50)

Harro (2010) believes that the cycle of socialization can be self-perpetuating. In doing nothing, members of subordinant groups allow the cycle to continue unabated, ensuring that internalized oppression will continue to be instilled, perpetuated, and maintained. The second option, Choosing a Direction for Change, requires that members of subordinant groups make a decision and act to interrupt the cycle. According to Harro, choosing a direction for change is usually influenced by some form of precipitating event including critical incidents, "last straw" experiences and the development of a new awareness or consciousness.

The final piece of Harro's (2010) Cycle of Socialization, the Core, consists of the negative emotions that reside at the heart of the cycle and help to perpetuate it. Harro lists four emotions: fear, ignorance, confusion, and insecurity. Each of these themes, with the exception of confusion, is a commonly identified pattern of internalized oppression (See Appendix A). The Core serves as a form of structural support for the cycle of socialization by ensuring that humans keep participating in the cycle and that it continues.

The socialization processes of subordinant groups are not entirely or inherently negative. While the process of socialization can be a source of internalized oppression, it

can also be a source of empowerment and resistance. Along with socialization into the

targeted role, subordinant groups may also be socialized in ways that are empowering and

help them to resist oppression. For example, E. Bell and Nkomo (1998) discuss Armoring

as one of the ways that Black women are socialized to resist oppression. Generally

speaking, Armoring is a form of socialization that equips subordinant groups with the

skills and tools necessary to successfully withstand and operate in oppressive

environments. In explaining the significance of Armoring to Black women, Bell and

Nkomo state:

> These women were taught by their families and communities to develop a
> protective shield as a buffer against unsavory elements of the outside world – a
> world where they quickly discover Black women are invisible, devalued and
> dishonored in particular ways because of their race and gender. Armor enables a
> Black girl to develop and to maintain a sense of self-worth, dignity and beauty in
> the face of social standards clearly signaling otherwise. (p. 286)

Not only does Armoring provide protection against racism and sexism, it also helps

members of subordinant groups to develop a positive sense of self. The socialization

process of subordinant groups should not, therefore, be looked at strictly from a deficit

perspective.

In addition, oppressive socialization processes do not always result in internalized

oppression. In defining socialization, Grusec and Hastings (2007) state the following:

> In the broadest possible terms, it refers to the way in which individuals are
> assisted in becoming members of one or more social groups. The word "assist" is
> important as it infers that socialization is not a one way street but that new
> members of the social group are active in the socialization process and selective
> in what they accept from older members of the social group. (p. 1)

Socialization is not a process by which subordinant groups passively sit and

absorb what is presented to them. As Grusec and Hastings point out, people are active in

the socialization process and can be discerning in what they accept. An example of this

can be found in the prominence of the "Afro" hairdo among African Americans during the Black Power movement. During the time preceding the Black Power movement, African Americans were socialized to accept white standards of beauty and adhere to a white aesthetic. The "Afro" was a natural hairdo, that is, it was a hairstyle that did not require the use of chemicals, straightening combs, or blow dryers (M. Bell, 2008). At the time, natural hair for African Americans was considered ugly, unacceptable, and undesirable (M. Bell, 2008). Processed hair, hair that has been altered to fit a white aesthetic, was the norm and considered socially acceptable. In this environment, wearing an "Afro" was a contradiction to and rejection of the white aesthetic that Black people had been socialized to accept for generations (M. Bell, 2008).

Intergenerational Transmission

As a general concept, *intergenerational transmission*, also known as transgenerational, multigenerational or cross-generational transmission (Kellerman, 2001; Wesley-Esquimaux & Smolewski, 2004) refers to the ways in which a given phenomenon is passed from one generation to the next. It has been used to study a variety of topics, including relationship aggression (Cui, Durtschi, Donnellan, Lorenz, & Conger, 2010), depression (Garber & Cole, 2010), parenting (Belsky, Rand, & Capaldi, 2009) and the transmission of problem behaviors (Loeber, Hipwell, Battista, Sembower, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 2009). For the purpose of this study, *intergenerational transmission* refers to the processes by which internalized oppression is transferred from one generation to the next.

The term "intergenerational transmission" is often used to refer specifically to transmissions that occur from parent to child (Kellerman, 2001). However, this is not always the case. In families and cultures that are community-oriented or where close familial relationships and extended families are the norm, transmission may occur from individuals other than the parents. For example, transmission may also occur from grandparents, uncle and aunts, cousins, or close family friends. Consequently, in my interpretation of this process, intergenerational transmission can also occur between people of different generations with whom an individual might have significant relationships, such as teachers, neighbors, or religious leaders. For the purpose of this study, the content of the transmission process (i.e., what is transmitted) includes the attitudes, perspectives, beliefs, values, and assumptions that lead the members of subordinant group to act in ways that consciously or unconsciously support or collude with the systems of oppression that target them. It may also include the transmission of psychological, emotional, and behavioral patterns of internalized oppression or the conditions that would cause the development of such patterns.

One important source for of the literature on Intergenerational Transmission focuses on the study of trauma and traumatic events. Specifically, this literature addresses the intergenerational transmission of race-based and ethno-religious-based trauma. This includes research on:

- The intergenerational effects of the Jewish Holocaust (Baranowsky, Young, Johnson-Douglas, Williams-Keeler, & McCarrey, 1998; Felsen, 1998; Kellerman, 2001, Rowland-Klein & Dunlop, 1998; Seifter-Abrams, 1999),
- Native American Genocide (Brave Heart, 1995, 2003; Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Brave Heart-Jordan & DeBruyn, 1996; Denham, 2008; E. Duran, 2006; B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995; B. Duran, E. Duran, & Brave Heart, 1999; E. Duran, B. Duran, Brave Heart, & Yellow Horse-Davis, 1998; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Whitebeck, Adams, Hoyt, & Chen, 2004),

- The genocide of Aboriginal people in Australia and Canada (Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2009; Wesley-Equimaux & Smolewski, 2004) and;
- Japanese internment in US concentration camps (Carr, 1993; Mass, 1991; Mayeda, 1995; Nagata, 1990, 1993, 1998; Nagata & Cheng, 2003; Nagata & Takeshita, 1998; Nagata, Trierweiler, & Talbot, 1999).

These events are not isolated traumatic incidents; rather, they are part of ongoing and pervasive group experiences of oppression whose history is passed along generationally. For example, prior to the internment of the Japanese in the US during World War II, an event that caused trauma across multiple generations, the Japanese community experienced oppression on multiple levels (Nagata & Cheng, 2003). Japanese immigrants were targeted by hate crimes and anti-Asian sentiments, forced to use segregated facilities and legally prevented from owning land, becoming citizens, or marrying interracially. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the Japanese community experienced racism on an unprecedented scale. On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which forced over 100,000 Japanese immigrants and citizens into internment camps; this order was not rescinded until 1945 (Robinson, 2003). During the process of internment, many Japanese were forced to abandon their homes and businesses or sell them at a tremendous loss (Nagata & Cheng, 2003). Consequently, many Japanese Americans had few resources with which to reconstruct and resume their lives. As a racial and ethnic group that is targeted by oppression, Japanese Americans continue to experience racism and other forms of oppression in their lives (Mitsunori, 2009; Talbot, 1999). Similar to Japanese internment in the US, the European Holocaust and genocide among Native Americans and Aborignal peoples are not isolated traumatic events. They are traumatic events that have occurred as a part of a historical and ongoing experience of oppression for their respective communities.

To be clear, trauma is not internalized oppression. The experience of oppression causes trauma. When this experience of oppression is internalized and subsequent trauma is left unhealed, it can lead to the development of traits and patterns that can be characterized as manifestations of internalized oppression, which are then passed on to subsequent generations. Examples of manifestations of internalized oppression that have been cited in the literature on intergenerational transmission include anger, depression, rage, substance abuse, learned helplessness, damaged self-esteem, sexual and domestic abuse, suicide, fear, guilt, anxiety, dependency, violence, child abuse, and dependency (Bombay et al., 2009; E. Duran, 2006; B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Kellerman 2001; Poupart, 2003; Wesley-Esquimaux & Smolewski, 2004; Whitebeck et al., 2004). These patterns are consistent with patterns developed by other oppressed groups and are commonly cited patterns of internalized oppression (see Appendix A).

Kellerman (2001) outlines four theoretical approaches to understanding intergenerational transmission: psychodynamic, sociocultural, family systems and communication, and, biological (See Table 4.1). Each of these approaches has its own medium of transmission and primary transmission factors. In Kellerman's view, intergenerational transmission cannot be explained by one of these theories alone, but requires a perspective that integrates all four:

> Such an integrative view of trauma transmission takes into account the intricate interplay among different levels of transgenerational influence, suggesting that trauma transmission is caused by a complex of multiple related factors, including biological pre-disposition, individual developmental history, family influences and social situation. (p. 65)

This perspective recognizes the dynamic interconnection of each of these perspectives and holds out the possibility that intergenerational transmission can stem from a combination of one or more of these sources.

Psychodynamic models of transmission focus on indirect modes of transmission that occur through personal interaction (Denham, 2008; Kellerman, 2001). According to Kellerman, in psychodynamic models, parents who are survivors of traumatic experiences unconsciously transmit their experiences to their children through everyday familial contact. This includes repressed and insufficiently worked through Holocaust experiences and Holocaust-related feelings and anxieties. The offspring of Holocaust survivors then internalize this material and as a result, come to carry the pain and trauma of that experience as if it were their own. Weiss and Weiss (2000) describe this process in the following manner:

> The children learn to think and behave in disturbed ways similar to their parents. Their world of association is that of the holocaust, and at times one gets the impression as if they themselves have been there. (p. 373)

M. Katz (2003) provides an even more descriptive analysis:

> By contrast, the next generation, the patient who is the child of Holocaust survivors, has a ready made sense of the past: an affective sense of the past which is not from his or her subjective experience of the world, but borrowed, on long term loan, from the traumatic experience of his parents. The sense of the past is sharp and distinct. The relationship with himself in the present eludes him. He cannot know what he wants when he wants it, or how to make sense of things in the present because he must respond to an historical order that has been imposed on him, an imposition that precludes knowing his own desires and autonomy. (p. 200)

The oppression and related traumatic events that were experienced by the parent are transmitted to their children who internalize this material, using it as an unconscious organizing structure for their relationship with the outside world (Auerhahn & Laub,

1998; M. Katz, 2003; Kellerman, 2001; Weiss & Weiss, 2000). As a result, the children

have a perspective and behaviors in the present that are rooted in a past experience of

oppression that is not their own. Subsequently, they develop patterns that are similar to

patterns developed by their parents though they have not had the same experience (Weiss

& Weiss, 2000).

Table 4.1
Models of Trauma Transmission

Theory	Medium	Main Transmission Factor
Psychodynamic	Interpersonal Relations	Unconscious Displaced Emotions
Sociocultural	Socialization	Parenting & Modeling
Family Systems	Communication	Enmeshment
Biological	Genetic	Hereditary Vulnerability to PTSD

(Kellerman, 2001, p. 261)

Sociocultural models of intergenerational transmission focus on transmission that

occurs through the medium of socialization, in particular, through observational learning

and parental modeling (Denham, 2008; Kellerman, 2001). Sociocultural models are, in

part, influenced by Bandura's Social Learning Theory (Kellerman, 2001; Wesley-

Esquimaux & Smolewski, 2004). Bandura (1977) states:

> Fortunately, most human behavior is learned observationally through modeling:
> from observing others one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed,
> and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action. (p. 22)

Children learn, in part, by observing their parents and modeling their behavior after them.

Therefore, if parent models behaviors that can be characterized as internalized

oppression, this behavior may be transmitted to and internalized by their children. Parents who have experienced traumatic events can not only transmit internalized oppression through role modeling, they may also do so through inadequate parenting skills and oppressive socialization practices (Bombay et al., 2009; Fongay, 1999; Gottschalk, 2003; Kellerman, 2001).

An example of this can be seen in the Native American boarding school experience. As a part of the assimilation and acculturation policies of the US, Native American children were removed from their homes and forced to attend state-sponsored boarding schools. The goal of these policies was complete assimilation. Native American children were stripped of their cultural identity, forbidden to speak their native languages or practice their religions and customs, and forced to learn European values, culture, and manners of dress (E. Duran et al., 1998; Tafoya & Del Veccio, 2005; Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). Further, they were subjected to harsh labor, frequent epidemics, and physical, emotional, and sexual abuse (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Tafoya & Del Veccio, 2005). Horejsi, Craig, and Pablo (1992) describe the effects of the boarding school experience on Native American parenting:

> The boarding school experience has had a far-reaching effect on Native American culture and family structure. Those people who spent much of their childhood in boarding schools were deprived of an opportunity to experience family life, and many reached their adulthood with no clear concept of parenting behavior and family functioning. The boarding school effectively destroyed the intergenerational transmission of family and parenting knowledge and behaviors. Now, one or more generations after the boarding school era, many Native Americans are ill-prepared for the parent role. (p. 334)

The generations that attended boarding schools were denied access to their community and to culturally appropriate role models and norms, leaving them unable to raise their families in ways that are culturally consistent. Further, given the horrific

conditions under which they lived, the role models that Native American children *did* have were horribly abusive. Therefore, not only was the intergenerational transmission of *positive* parenting knowledge and behavior interrupted, *negative* behaviors were instilled, including the use of violence in child-rearing and sexual abuse (Horejsi et al., 1992). Internalized oppression is then transmitted through the parents' behavior as well as through their childrearing and socialization practices.

Family Systems and Communication models of Intergenerational Transmission include models of transmission that focus on intra-familial communication patterns. In describing the familial settings to which these models apply, Kellerman (2001) states:

> Though Holocaust survivor families certainly differ from one another in many ways (Danieli, 1981), the more pathological families are described as tight little islands in which children came into contact only with their own parents, their siblings and other survivors. In such highly closed systems parents are fully committed to their children and children are overly concerned with parents' welfare, each trying to shield the other from painful experiences (Klein-Parker, 1988). Through mutual identifications, parents live vicariously through their children and children live vicariously in the horrific past of their parents. (p. 262)

According to Kellerman (2001), intergenerational transmission, whether conscious or unconscious, always occurs in a particular kind of family environment. In this case, the family exists in a system that is closed to outside interaction. As a result, the role of outside influences on family members' behavior and development is minimized. The result is that parental and children's attentions are turned inward creating an isolated family system in which the internalized oppression of parents and those who have suffered similar experiences can be easily transmitted. As a result, children come to over-identify with their parents and vicariously live their past experiences.

Transmission in Family Systems models occurs through the medium of communication. The primary transmission factor is Enmeshment. Kellmerman (2001)

does not offer an explicit definition of enmeshment. He does, however, offer a description:

> Parents like this, who care too much and who become overly involved and intrusive, tend to enmesh their offspring in the crossfire of their own emotional problems and bind their children unto themselves in a manner that makes it difficult for the children to gain independence. (p. 262)

Parents communicate and interact with their children in ways that lead children to become ensnared in the emotional residue of their parents. Enmeshment creates an experience of immersion, making it difficult for children to differentiate themselves and their own experiences from their parents'. Enmeshment can happen in a wide variety of ways, including confusing and dependency-invoking communications; nonverbal, ambiguous and guilt-inducing communications; and "double bind" or contradicting communications (Kelleman, 2001). Other kinds of familial communication that have been named in the literature on intergenerational transmission include both over-sharing and under-sharing of details of oppressive experiences (Denham, 2008; Kellerman, 2001; Nagata, 2003)

According to Kellerman (2001), biological transmission models propose that the trauma experienced by parents can be passed to future generations in ways that are similar to other kinds of hereditary diseases. Kellerman states

> Because psychic trauma is assumed to have long-term effects on the neurochemical responses to stress in traumatized patients (Van der Kolk, McFarlance & Weisaeth, 1996), it may also lead to the same enduring characterological deficiencies and to a kind of biological vulnerability in the child. Children of the holocaust, who were born to severely traumatized Holocaust survivor parents, would then be predisposed to PTSD. (p. 264)

The long term effect of psychological trauma is theorized to affect the parents' neurochemistry and brain function, which is genetically passed to children. Children then

become predisposed to respond in the same or similar ways to the same kinds of stressors.

As a process, intergenerational transmission is not used solely for the transmission of internalized oppression; it can also create opportunities to challenge internalized oppression. In his study of Native American historical trauma, Denham (2008) offers an example of how intergenerational transmission can be used to protect against and/or interrupt internalized oppression. One of the ways that intergenerational transmission of internalized oppression occurs is through sharing traumatic memories and narratives (Auerhahn & Laub, 1998; Denham, 2008; Nagata & Cheng, 2003). Denham states:

> family members also construct their sense of self from a network or chain of *intergenerational* memories and narratives situated within the larger sociocultural, political and historical context. That is, narratives and memories of previous generations, often dating back hundreds of years, are internalized by subsequent generations and used to construct one's sense of self. (p. 400)

As Denham points out, aside from one's personal memories, the memories and narratives of previous generations are used by future generations to construct their sense of self. As a result, the content of these narratives and the way in which these narratives are transmitted from one generation to the next become influential in the development of the self-concept of future generations. What is given and how it is presented will determine, in part, how younger generations come to know, see, and understand themselves. One of the ways that future generations can develop a positive sense of self is through the transmission of historically grounded cultural identity, which includes collective memories, and cultural knowledge and practices.

Transmission of cultural identity can occur in many ways, including through participation in family activities and traditions, cultural gatherings, recounting of oral

65

histories, personal stories, and the reenactment of historically important events (Denham, 2008). When internalized, this cultural identity can provide a foundation of values, customs, tradition, and collective memories that serve to guide community members throughout their lives and protect them from oppression, drug abuse, and other kinds of threats (Denham, 2008). The way in which intergenerational memories and narratives are shared plays an important role in whether internalized oppression is transmitted or *challenged* by what is transmitted. Denham describes the transmission of narratives that are constructed from and framed in what he calls a "strength-based" perspective:

> Narratives grounded within a strengths-based perspective emphasize how family members are successful at overcoming difficulties and remaining strong in the face of traumatic circumstances or change. (p. 405)

Narratives told from a strength-based perspective place emphasis on the lessons that were learned and/or positive outcomes rather than emphasizing failure, hopelessness, and negative outcomes. In doing so, it provides a measure of protection against internalized oppression by contextualizing and reframing historically oppressive experiences in a positive way. When strength-based intergenerational narratives are shared, this perspective can become the foundation of the cultural and individual identity of targeted group members. Strength-based narratives also provide a framework for future generations to contextualize and make sense of their *own* experiences in positive and affirming ways. As each generation adds its own experiences, they further contribute to the dissemination of strength-based narratives and the interruption of internalized oppression.

<u>Acceptance</u>

Acceptance is the third process of internalized oppression identified in this study. It refers to the ways in which members of subordinant groups consciously or unconsciously believe, agree with, collude with, and/or incorporate the oppressive conditions, perspectives, and messages put forth by oppressive systems. This can include messages about one's social identities, other subordinant or dominant group identities, as well as messages about entitlement (or lack thereof), how the world is, and how the world should be (Fanon, 1967; Freire, 1970; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Memmi, 1965). By accepting stereotyped (mis)information and messages, rather than critiquing and/or rejecting such messages, members of subordinant groups actively and/or passively participate in their own oppression by incorporating, without question, the perspectives that serve to support and perpetuate oppressive systems.

This notion of *acceptance* as the uncritical incorporation of oppressive societal norms and misinformation draws heavily from the work of Fanon (1967) and Memmi (1965). The work of Fanon and Memmi provides a powerful descriptive and analytic portrait of the psychological processes by which colonized peoples play "host" to their oppression.

Fanon (1967) describes the colonized as "people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality" (p. 18). Here Fanon refers to one major effect of colonialism, namely, the degradation and/or erasure of the culture of the colonized. Memmi (1965) also sees this practice as an inherent and necessary part of the system of colonialism that creates a space for the ascension and supremacy of the colonizing culture.

In Fanon's (1967) view, the acceptance of the colonizer's language and culture go hand-in-hand: "To speak a language is to take on a world, a culture. The Antilles negro who wants to be white will be the whiter as he gains mastery over the cultural tool that language is." (p. 38). Fanon refers here to French, the language of the colonizing power of the Antilles. According to Fanon, every group of colonized people will, at some point, come face to face with the language and culture of the colonizer. Within the context of a system of colonialism, the status of the colonized is raised among both the colonizer and the colonized in relation to their degree of assimilation into and mastery of the colonizer's language and culture (Fanon, 1967; Memmi, 1965).

Becoming "whiter" in this instance does not refer to literal skin color; rather, it refers to one being perceived as being culturally and socially closer to the white colonizer. Those among the colonized who maintain their culture are looked down upon as being backward, savage, and lacking refinement and are treated as such (Fanon, 1967; Memmi, 1965). Together, these dynamics create an atmosphere of rewards and punishments in which acceptance of the colonizer's language, culture, and cultural supremacy are not only encouraged but might also be seen by some as being politically, socially, and economically expedient.

Memmi (1965) provides a portrait of both the colonizer and the colonized. This dual portrait illustrated the complexities present in the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized within the context of a colonial system. According to Memmi, the position of the colonizer as dominant is dependent upon the colonized accepting their designated role. To that end, it is within the best interests of the dominant group to propagate an image of the colonized that encourages this acceptance.

This image, which Memmi (1965) calls the "mythical portrait" of the colonized, depicts the colonized as inherently inferior and is at the heart of the colonial ideology. It is omnipresent and reinforced by the colonizer and the colonial system at the individual, cultural, and institutional levels (Memmi, 1965). The constant presence and application of the mythical portrait leads to a situation in which the colonized begin to question themselves: "Is he not partially right?" he mutters. "Are we not all a little guilty after all?" Lazy because we have so many idlers? Timid because we let ourselves be oppressed?" (p. 87)

Here we see the acceptance process at work: the mythical portrait gradually seeps into the perspective of the colonized and the colonized come to believe, at least to some degree, in its accuracy:

> Willfully created and spread by the colonizer, this mythical and degrading portrait ends up being accepted and lived with to a certain extent by the colonized. It thus acquires a certain amount of reality and contributes to the true portrait of the colonized. (pp. 87-88)

Not only is the mythical portrait accepted, it becomes a self-perpetuating reality. In accepting this portrait, the colonized affirm the roles constructed for them by the colonized and in doing so lend strength and stability to the colonial system (Memmi, 1965). The concept of the mythical portrait is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Similar to Memmi (1965) and Fanon (1967), Freire (1970) provides a rich description of the conditions of the oppressed. The process of acceptance in Freire's work takes several forms and runs parallel to the descriptions provided by Memmi and Fanon in at least three ways. First, like Memmi and Fanon, Freire notes that the oppressed not only accept the culture and lifestyle of the dominant group, they model themselves after the dominant group. To be like the oppressor becomes "an overpowering aspiration" (p.

44). Second, also similar to Memmi and Fanon, Freire notes that the oppressed often accept and internalize the oppressor's limited and self-serving view, eventually coming to hold the same view of themselves as their oppressors do. Third, Freire also believes that the oppressed internalize aspects of their oppressor's consciousness. Freire describes the phenomenon of internalizing the perspectives, culture, and consciousness of the oppressor as playing "host" to the oppressor (p. 30).

In describing the internalization of oppressor consciousness, Freire (1970) states the following:

> The oppressed suffer from the duality which has established itself in their innermost being. They discover that without freedom they cannot exist authentically. Yet, although they desire authentic existence, they fear it. They are at one and that the same time themselves and their oppressor, whose consciousness they have internalized. (p. 30)

Later, Freire further elaborates on the duality of the oppressed and its effects:

> One of these characteristics is the previously mentioned existential duality of the oppressed, who are at the same time themselves and the oppressor whose image they have internalized. Accordingly, until they "discover" their oppressor and in turn their own consciousness, they nearly always express fatalistic attitudes towards their situation. (p. 43)

For Freire (1970), oppressive reality has the effect of submerging the consciousness of the oppressed (p. 33). Further, it creates the conditions that facilitate the superimposition of the oppressor's consciousness over that of the oppressed, creating the existential duality described by Freire. This means that the consciousness of the oppressed, which that has not been destroyed, only covered, coexists simultaneously with the consciousness of the oppressor within the minds of the oppressed. However, so long as the oppressed do not uncover their own consciousness, they will continue to accept their oppression, either unaware of its true causes or utterly convinced of their own

70

powerlessness. The theme of duality appears throughout the literature on internalized

oppression and is discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

Another one of the places where we see acceptance is in what Freire, (1970) calls

the theme of silence:

> A group which does not concretely express a generative thematics – a fact which
> might appear to imply the nonexistence of themes – is, on the contrary, suggesting
> a very dramatic theme: *the theme of silence*. The theme of silence suggests a
> structure of mutism in the face of the overwhelming force of limit-situations. (p.
> 87)

Here, Freire is referring to silence in the face of oppression. This silence can be

interpreted as a form of action, that is, as acceptance. According to Freire, the existence

of a theme implies the existence of its opposite. Further, it illuminates the tasks that must

be carried out in relation to that theme. Though Freire does not elaborate here, one can

assume that the theme of silence would imply the existence of its opposite: liberatory

action. Historically speaking, this is the power in Freire's perspective and pedagogy: it

holds out the belief that oppression does not have to be accepted and that internalized

oppression is not inevitable. Further, it engages the oppressed in the active pursuit of their

own liberation.

The first step in overcoming oppression and interrupting the process of

acceptance is for the oppressed to learn to critically discern the sources of their

oppressive condition (Freire, 1970). "As long as the oppressed remain unaware of the

causes of their condition, they fatalistically 'accept' their exploitation." (p. 46)

According to Freire, the oppressed accept their oppression because they are not fully

aware of the causes of their circumstances. Further, because they have internalized or

played "host" to oppression, the oppressed do not resist; instead, they maintain "a diffuse,

magical belief in the invulnerability and power of the oppressor" (p. 46). To achieve liberation, the oppressed must not only develop an awareness of the oppression in which they are immersed, but as Freire states, they must also "perceive the reality of oppression not as a closed world from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation which they can transform" (p. 31).

At the heart of Freire's (1970) liberatory process from acceptance, is what he calls *conscientização*, which he defines in the following manner: "*Conscientização* refers to learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (p. 17)" For Freire, interrupting acceptance requires the oppressed to develop critical consciousness, which enables them to clearly examine, understand, and transform the world around them. According to Freire, all human beings, no matter the occupation, level of education, or socioeconomic status, have this ability, and doing so not only helps the oppressed in interrupting acceptance, it aids in the process of reclaiming their humanity.

A more contemporary example of acceptance can be seen in Lerner's (1991) concept of *surplus powerlessness*. Within the context of this study, surplus powerlessness can more accurately be described as a *state* of internalized oppression. However, for the purpose of this discussion, it is the connection between acceptance and surplus powerlessness that is important. Lerner defines Surplus powerlessness as "the set of feelings and beliefs that makes people think of themselves as even more powerless than the actual situation requires, and then leads them to act in ways that actually confirm them in their powerlessness" (p. xii). According to Lerner, almost everyone is impacted by surplus powerlessness in one way or another. However, members of subordinant

groups can not only experience powerlessness associated with their individual selves, they can also experience it in association with their targeted social identities. Lerner further describes surplus powerlessness as "not just a belief – it's a whole way of approaching reality, a 'way of life.' It embodies our feelings, our thoughts, our perceptions of who we are and who we could be" (p. 3). This elaboration helps points out the thoroughly pervasive nature of surplus powerlessness; its impact is holistic, affecting one's emotions, thoughts, actions, self-concept (i.e. who we are), and one's potential to imagine an alternative self (i.e., who we could be).

Lerner (1991 differentiates *surplus* powerlessness from *real* powerlessness, which he describes as "a real inequality between the power available to the elites that govern the American economic and political system, and the rest of us" (p. xiv). While real powerlessness exists, surplus powerlessness is the feeling of powerlessness that exists independent of the level of power that one has actually has. According to Lerner, encounters with *real* powerlessness can often be misinterpreted in ways that lead to *surplus* powerless. If, for example, a person of color encounters a situation of real powerlessness that is rooted in institutional racism, he may misinterpret this in a way that leads him to believe that he is personally powerless rather than understanding that the situation is a result of systemic oppression. In addition, extended periods of feeling powerless, such as those that may be experienced by subordiant groups as a result of oppression, can lead to the process of acceptance:

> When we are powerless for any extended length of time, we tend to become more willing to accept parts of the world we would otherwise reject. We act in ways that go counter to our best visions of who we are and who we can and want to be. (p. 2)

73

Learner's description of acceptance, though very broad, is very poignant; he is speaking

of the acceptance of one's life circumstances and feeling powerless to change or alter

them. For the members of subordinant groups, this equates to the acceptance of an

oppressive status quo. Further, it equates to acceptance of the feeling that we are

incapable of changing it.

The conundrum of surplus powerlessness is that when it occurs, there may have

already been a process of acceptance, that is, the acceptance of a vision of one's self as

less powerful than one truly is. This can then lead to the development of surplus

powerlessness, which can lead to the further acceptance of oppression. In this way, the

members of subordinant groups can become enmeshed in a self-perpetuating cycle of

acceptance and powerlessness.

One of the areas in which Acceptance is explicitly analyzed among contemporary

theoreticians is the field of racial identity development. Jackson's Black Identity

Development (BID) model (1976, 2001) was one of the first created and is one of the

most widely used models to date. Jackson's model traces the development of Black

identity through a series of five stages:

1. Naïve
2. Acceptance
3. Resistance
4. Redefinition
5. Internalization

According to Jackson (2001), the *acceptance* stage of Black identity development

suggests "the acceptance of the prevailing white/majority description and perceived

worth of Black people, Black culture or experience" (p. 15).

> [A Black person in the acceptance stage] attempts to gain resources – such as
> approval, sense of self worth, goods, power, and money – by accepting and

74

conforming to White social, cultural and institutional standards. His or her response to the dominant social mode is an unexamined rather than an explicitly examined pattern of behavior consciously adapted for personal survival. (pp. 19-20)

Here, not only is the prevailing oppressive logic accepted, but a Black person in the acceptance stage also shapes and aligns themselves accordingly. Jackson's (2001) model differentiates between Passive Acceptance, which he defines as unconscious, and Active Acceptance, which he defines as conscious. In either case, Jackson points out, the oppressive material that is accepted is not critiqued or examined. It is in the Resistance stage that members of subordinant groups develop a critical consciousness and an increased awareness of oppression and the ways they have been impacted by it. They actively work in opposition to previously accepted restrictions and limitations imposed by systems of oppression. During the Redefinition and Internalization stages, subordinant groups focus on recreating their identity in a way that is free of oppressive influence and integrating this new identity into their everyday lives and functioning.

The process of acceptance is similarly described in Hardiman and Jackson's (1992, 1997 Social Identity Development model. This model, which includes the same stages as Jackson's BID model, describes the stages and characteristics that are common in the identity development processes for the members of dominant and subordinant groups. According to Hardiman and Jackson (1997), people in the acceptance stage "have accepted the messages about the nature of their group identity, the superiority of agents (Whites, heterosexuals, Christians), and the inferiority of targets (People of color, gays, lesbians and bisexuals, women, Jews)" (p. 24).

Here, Hardiman and Jackson (1997) point out that not only do both dominant and subordinant group accept what is said about their groups, they also accept the

75

power/status differences of superior and inferior. In addition to Hardiman and Jackson, other racial identity models have similarly described the process of acceptance including Kim's (1981, 2001) model of Asian identity development and Ferdman and Gallegos' (2001) model of Latino identity development. What is common to each of these models is an understanding of Acceptance as the uncritical incorporation of oppressive societal perspectives and beliefs.

Aside from the field of racial identity development, other contemporary theorists have also made note of the process of acceptance. Pheterson (1986) for example, views internalized oppression as including both the acceptance and incorporation of societal prejudice by targeted groups. According to L. Bell (2007), when members of targeted groups accept and incorporate the dominant society's negative images of them, they will act in ways that support their own oppression. Similarly, Love (Personal communication, July 12, 2002) states that subordinant groups take in and accept the rationale put forth by oppressive systems and apply those beliefs in their everyday lives as the basis for action in ways that support that system. Griffin (1997) defines internalized subordination as those instances in which members of subordinant group adopt the oppressive or dominant ideology and accept their subordinate status. In this description, the process of acceptance includes the language of "adoption," which connotes not only acceptance but *ownership* over the accepted material. During the course of this process, subordinant groups not only come to believe or agree with the oppressive material presented, they claim it as their own.

There are several key points to keep in mind about the process of acceptance. First, the process of acceptance is not uniform for all of the members of a subordinant

group and certainly not uniform for all the multiple manifestations of restriction or devaluation that can potentially be internalized. Members of subordinant groups may accept or reject different information based on a variety of factors. For example, two people who are gay may accept different heterosexist messages. Further, those same two people may receive and accept (or reject) different messages depending upon their multiple group memberships.

A second point to keep in mind regarding the process of acceptance is that it is not an absolute. Members of a subordinant group may accept some oppressive material while holding more liberatory views about their group (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002). A woman, for example, may accept prevailing standards of beauty while holding the belief that women are powerful. This disparity, once noted, may create the dissonance needed to question and no longer to accept, prevailing standards of beauty.

A third point to keep in mind is that the process of acceptance is not instantaneous, static, nor irreversible. It occurs and changes over time. Through a variety of mechanisms described in the previous section on socialization, members of subordinant groups are inundated with information from hegemonic perspectives throughout their lifespan. Each time this information is presented, there is an opportunity to accept it or reject it. It is possible for a member of a subordinant group to accept a set of oppressive beliefs at one point in their lives, only to reject it later on in life.

CHAPTER 5

INTERNALIZED OPPRESSION AS A STATE

One of the potential results of being targeted by systems of oppression is the development of a consistent set of characteristics and attributes within subordinant groups that collude with oppression and serve the best interests of the dominant groups, that is, the development of a *state* of internalized oppression. Members of subordinant groups are often supported, encouraged, and forced to develop and function in ways that support the maintenance and perpetuation of the systems of oppression that target them (personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Miller, 1986). The literature on internalized oppression outlines at least two states: a *psychological state* (which includes elements of cognition and affect) and a *spiritual state* (which includes religious, spiritual and secular understandings of the spirit). These two states do not operate in isolation and are not mutually exclusive. These two states often work together to promote the instillation, maintenance, and perpetuation of internalized oppression.

Internalized Oppression as a Psychological State

Internalized oppression exists as a *psychological state*; this means that the psychological condition, attributes, and day-to-day psychological functioning of subordinant groups has been impacted or altered to such an extent that they may consciously or unconsciously perpetuate, collude with, and contribute to the oppression they experience. It means that the experience of oppression and the impact of that

experience can be integrated into the psychological makeup of subordinant groups and the individual members of those groups.

Moane (1999) identifies four areas of psychological functioning that are impacted by oppression: self and identity, emotions, interpersonal relationships, and mental health. These areas are also places where the impact, patterns, and manifestations of internalized oppression can be found. In the following discussion, I use Moane's framework to structure an analysis of four ways that internalized oppression can exist as a *psychological state* within subordinant groups. These areas of psychological functioning are not independent of one another. These areas are all part of a dynamic system, and the parts are, therefore, interrelated and interdependent. When one of these areas is affected, there are ramifications for and the impact is felt in all of the remaining areas.

Self and Identity

The first area of functioning within a *psychological state* of internalized oppression, self and identity, is concerned with the impact of oppression on the intra-psychic functioning of members of subordinant groups. Identity construction in this instance includes individual identity (i.e., who I am as an individual) as well as the individual construction of group identity (i.e., who I am as a member of a group). Three examples of internalized oppression in this area of functioning can be found in lack of self-knowledge, the construction of self within an oppressive framework, and in the naming of reality.

The lack of self-knowledge and the construction of the self within an oppressive framework among subordinant groups are by no means an accident. The intentional

cultivation of particular knowledge and characteristics within subordinant groups is deliberate and is necessary for the maintenance and perpetuation of systems of oppression and for the instillation of internalized oppression. Freire (1970) states, "Functionally, oppression is domesticating" (p. 51). When subordinant groups' knowledge of themselves is non-existent, limited in scope, and/or predicated on the beliefs, desires, and needs of the dominant group, they are easier to control and oppress.

Self-Knowledge

Self-knowledge refers to the information subordinant groups know and/or believe to be true of themselves and members of their group. This can include awareness of wants, needs, desires, skills, abilities, and what one believes to be true of the nature of the individuals and groups with which one shares social group memberships. Subordinant groups, through a variety of mechanisms, are forced to exist within a very narrow set of boundaries that are defined by dominant groups. They are required and/or encouraged, actively and passively, to develop thoughts, beliefs, behaviors, and personality traits that are agreeable to or that serve the purpose of dominant groups and existing systems of oppression (Fanon, 1967; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Miller, 1986). That is, subordinant groups are forced and encouraged to internalize their experience of oppression. Examples of the traits internalized by subordinant groups include psychological, emotional, and financial dependency, lack of agency, the failure to rebel, feelings of insecurity, failure, and inferiority, learned helplessness, hopelessness, and self-hate (J. Bell, 2006; Comas-Diaz, 1994; Fanon, 1967; Freire, 1970; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Miller, 1986; Moanne, 1999; Morris, 1987;

Pharr, 1997; Tigert, 1999, Wooley, 1993). Freire refers to process of acquiring these traits as "prescription" (p. 46).

According to Freire (1970), prescription "represents the imposition of one individual's choice upon another, transforming the consciousness of the person prescribed into one that conforms with the prescriber's consciousness." (p. 46). Miller (1986) notes that women are led to believe that to know themselves and their needs and to attempt to act in ways that are outside of their prescribed boundaries means that they must either attack men or try and be like them. Women who are violent or to be "like men" are in direct violation of societal laws and taboos regarding female gender identity, therefore, women knowing themselves and acting outside of their prescribed roles is difficult, if not impossible. Therefore, part of the process of prescribing the self-knowledge of subordinant groups is to actively discourage the further development of self-knowledge and to discourage behavior that is outside of the realm prescribed by dominant groups.

Systems of oppression function, in part, through the transmission of the energy and attention of a subordinant group to a dominant group (personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Miller, 1986). One effect of this situation is that the members of subordinant groups often know more about dominant groups than dominant groups know about subordinant groups (Fanon, 1967; hooks, 2005; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Memmi, 1965; Miller, 1986). A second effect is that often the members of subordinant groups know more about dominant groups than they do about *themselves* (Miller, 1986; Moane; 1999). Because subordinant groups must expend an inordinate

amount of energy focused on the dominant group to ensure their survival, there is little

opportunity for them to develop self-knowledge.

Not only do subordinant groups lack the opportunity to develop self-knowledge,

for some, it is not seen as worthy or possible to attain. Miller (1986) sums this point up

succinctly, "Indeed, there is little purpose in knowing yourself. Why should you when

your knowledge of the dominants determines your life?" (p. 11) In instances where

knowledge of the dominant group is essential for survival, liberatory self-knowledge and

the processes necessary for attaining it may be seen as a luxury, one that is not worth

wasting precious resources to achieve. Further, Miller notes that in cultures of

domination, certain facets and characteristics of humanity are valued above others; those

characteristics that are seen as valuable are often defined as being inherently, and

sometimes exclusively, within the purview of the dominant group. From a purely

pragmatic perspective, it may be logical to members of subordinant groups to spend more

time and energy focusing on developing characteristics that society values rather than

engaging in processes aimed at developing authentic and liberatory self-knowledge.

Oppressive Construction of the Self

A second example of internalized oppression in the area of self and identity is the

construction of the self, using an oppressive perspective. This refers to the context,

processes, and content through which subordinant groups come to know and understand

themselves. Hardiman and Jackson (1997) name five stages through which humans

acquire knowledge of their various social identities (both dominant and subordinant):

1. Naïve/No Social Consciousness
2. Acceptance

3. Resistance
4. Redefinition
5. Internalization

Two changes occur as humans transition from the Naïve/No Consciousness stage into the acceptance stage:

1. They begin to learn to adopt an ideology or belief system about their own and other social identity groups.

2. They begin to learn that the world has rules, laws, institutions and authority figures that permit certain behaviors and prohibit others, even if these rules do not make sense, and violate other principles such as freedom, equality, and axioms such as "do unto others" (p. 24).

It is in this transition and in the Acceptance stage where members of subordinant groups begin to assimilate the beliefs, values, and ideology of their oppressive contexts into their identities. The result of Hardiman and Jackson's model is the reconstruction and integration of an identity that has gone through a transformation such that it includes an awareness and critique of oppression and actively or passively resists that oppression. In the case where the self is constructed from an oppressive perspective, members of subordinant groups have not reached the resistance, redefinition, and internalization stages; they have learned the thinking, ideology, and reference point of the dominant group and have constructed their identities using this knowledge as the foundation.

The construction of the self from an oppressive perspective occurs, in part, due to the lack of self-knowledge. Stripped of the opportunity to develop self-knowledge, subordinant groups often learn who they are and who they should be, based upon the needs of and through the perspective of dominant groups (Memmi, 1965; Miller, 1986). As a result, the self-knowledge acquired is that which is imposed upon subordinant groups through systems of oppression; subordinant groups construct themselves within

the framework and limitations placed upon them by the dominant group, that is, an oppressive perspective. For members of subordinant groups, this results in the development of a set of beliefs about themselves that supports existing systems of oppression, which can cause the members of oppressed groups to think and act in ways that reflect the beliefs and best interests of dominant groups. This helps to perpetuate systems of oppression and is a reflection of internalized oppression. It keeps subordinant groups trapped and living within the confines of systems of oppression that are, or will become, the foundation of some aspect their identity. Without self-knowledge, members of subordinant groups are beholden to the knowledge of themselves that is created *for* them; what subordinant groups know of themselves is what is given to them and created for them by dominant groups.

An example of the construction of the self from an oppressive perspective can be found in the work of Memmi (1965) where he describes the way in which colonizers create a "mythical portrait" (p. 79) of the colonized, that is, a derogatory image of the colonized that elevates and naturalizes the status of the colonizer as dominant and the status of the colonized as subordinant. This mythical portrait and the "natural" status of the colonizer and colonized are then used to justify the actions, policies, and practices of the colonizers. As an example, Memmi points out that the colonized are often accused of laziness:

> What is suspect is that the accusation is not directed solely at the farm laborer or slum resident, but also at the professor, the engineer, or physician who does the same number of hours of work as his colleagues; indeed all the individuals of the colonized group are accused. (p. 81)

As this portrait is a tool that is used to justify the colonial presence, whether or not a particular member of the colonized is lazy or not is irrelevant. The colonized are not seen

as individuals, rather they are seen as a collective to which this portrait is uniformly applied, a phenomenon that Memmi calls "the mark of the plural" (p. 85). Ultimately, the mythical portrait becomes reality; it is eventually believed by the colonized to be wholly or at least partially true. What was created by the colonizer for its own ends has subsequently been internalized and used by subordianat groups in the construction of their individual and group identities.

Memmi's observations are echoed by Miller (1986) who writes, "The close study of an oppressed group reveals that a dominant group inevitably describes a subordinant group falsely in terms of its own system of thought" (p. xix). This description, which includes the construction of subordinant groups as innately weak, defective, or substandard, is internalized by members of the subordinant groups to the point where they begin to understand and construct *themselves* as such (Miller, 1986).

Thomas, Speight, and Witherspoon. (2004) give a second example of the construction of the self from an oppressive perspective. They believe part of the struggle in overcoming internalized oppression for Black women is "to develop an authentic sense of self, a self that is internally defined" (p. 126). They further believe that this process is hampered by the internalization of stereotypes. In their examination of the effects of internalizing stereotypes on Black women, Thomas et al. highlight three stereotypes in particular: Mammy, Sapphire, and Jezebel.

The stereotype of Mammy is a maternal figure; it puts forth the image of Black women as "nurturing, good caretakers, strong, supportive and selfless" (p. 115). The stereotype of Sapphire depicts Black women as "arrogant, controlling, loud, hostile, obnoxious, and never satisfied" (p. 116). The stereotype of Jezebel portrays Black

women as "seductive, manipulative and unable to control her sex drive" (p. 117). One of the primary effects of internalizing these stereotypes and their associated messages is that Black women can come to know and understand themselves and the world around them through these limited and narrow characterizations of Black womanhood.

A second effect of internalizing the stereotypes of Mammy, Sapphire, and Jezebel is that Black women can also come to base their everyday actions upon this oppressive information. According to Thomas et al. (2004), "Black women may often feel compelled to act, behave and feel in ways that make others comfortable, or that match the expectations of others" (p. 126). Internalizing the stereotypes of Mammy, Sapphire, and/or Jezebel may lead Black women to take on a personality or act in ways that coincide with the stereotype. It may also cause Black women to feel guilt for behaving in ways that do not coincide with the stereotype. Conversely, Black women may also alter, restrict, or inhibit their behavior out of fear of being associated with the stereotypes of Mammy, Sapphire, and Jezebel. In instances where Black women behave in ways that can be viewed as consistent with the stereotype, they may feel guilt or shame for conforming to the stereotype. Both guilt and shame are commonly cited patterns of internalized oppression (Bradshaw, 1988; Comas-Diaz, 1994; B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995; Kaufman & Raphael, 1996; Moane, 1999; Tigert, 1999).

The Naming of Reality

A third example of internalized oppression in the area of self and identity is the Naming of Reality. This refers to the subordinant group's perception and understanding of their contemporary and historical experiences and the power to name and define those

experiences. An example of the naming of reality can be seen in the acceptance of the reality that is constructed and prescribed by the dominant group. Young (1990, 2000) frames the process of prescribing reality as cultural imperialism. Regarding cultural imperialism, Young states:

> To experience cultural imperialism means to experience how the dominant meanings of a society render the perspectives of one's own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one's group and mark it as the Other. Cultural imperialism involves the universalization of a dominant group's experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm. (p. 58-59)

By establishing itself as the norm, the perspectives and understandings of the dominant group effectively become "reality." According to Moane (1999), Miller (1986), and Young (1990, 2000, subordinant groups suffer a form of duality as a result of the struggle to name their own reality. This duality takes the form of a conflict between the realities *experienced* by subordinant groups and the realities constructed by dominant groups. The outcome of the struggle of subordinant groups to name their reality has important ramifications; it will determine the perspective from which subordinant groups will understand and name what is happening to them. Accepting the reality as it is named and constructed by dominant groups is a foundational aspect of a *psychological state* of internalized oppression. Members of subordinant groups who accept the prescribed reality of the dominant group will understand themselves and the world around them from this perspective and will construct their identities and behave accordingly, that is, in ways that support existing systems of oppression.

Exploring one's self and one's identities is an essential part of human development and healthy psychological functioning. In the cases where internalized oppression is present in subordinant groups, this exploration is interrupted and

manipulated. What subordinant groups know to be true of themselves and the world is supplanted with information that is manufactured for the benefit of dominant groups. As this information is taken in by members of subordinant groups, it can lead to an understanding and perspective of one's self and one's identities that is limited and that colludes with systems of oppression. Without intervention, subordinant groups experiencing internalized oppression may never learn to embrace their own humanity, develop their fullest human potential, or exist in the world with authenticity. Further, they may never come to know and claim their agency and work toward liberation. As long as oppressed groups do not think, know, or believe that they are capable of creating change, they will not try; oppression will continue to exist unchallenged.

<div align="center">Emotions</div>

The second area of functioning within the *psychological state* of internalized oppression is emotion. This area of function is concerned with the presence of persistent emotional states and/or chronic or intermittent feelings that are a direct result of or are influenced by the experience of oppression. The effect of oppression on the emotions of subordinant groups is that they experience feelings and develop emotional states that consciously or unconsciously reproduce, perpetuate, and/or help to maintain the systems of oppression that target them. Two examples of internalized oppression in this area of psychological functioning are emotional repression and shame.

<u>Emotional Repression</u>

There is a great deal of disagreement within psychological and psychoanalytic literature regarding different aspects of repression, including its definition (Erdelyi, 2006), whether it is conscious of unconscious (Boag, 2006; Langnickel & Markowitsch, 2006), and whether it is one process or two (Najmi & Wegner, 2006). It is beyond the scope of this study to find agreement on these issues. The purpose of this discussion is to illuminate those aspects of emotional repression that are connected to or are a result of internalized oppression. For the purposes of this dissertation, I define emotional repression as the intentional or unintentional inhibition, interruption, or minimization of the awareness, experience, or expression of emotion in targeted groups that occurs either consciously or unconsciously as a result of their experience of oppression.

Within oppressive contexts it is very often unsafe for members of subordinant groups to express their emotions or to allow themselves to be fully conscious of and experience their emotions (personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Miller, 1986). hooks (2005) names the ability to repress emotion as a skill that has historically been central to the survival of Black people. Reflecting on the experience of Black people during enslavement, hooks states:

> Witnessing one another being daily subjected to all manner of physical abuse, the pain of over-work, the pain of brutal punishment, the pain of near starvation, enslaved Black people could rarely show sympathy or solidarity with one another just as that moment when sympathy and solace were most needed. They rightly feared reprisal. (p. 99)

To express one's emotions or, even worse, to express one's opposition to the violent oppression being witnessed could result in being targeted for even further oppression. Black people were made to silently bear witness to the vicious and inhumane treatment of

friends, loved ones, and fellow community members, consciously repressing their

emotions for the sake of survival. As hooks points out, the oppression of Black people

did not end with the deconstruction of the institution of slavery. Oppression, both *de facto*

and *de jure*, continued to create an environment in which the need to repress one's

emotions as a matter of safety and survival continued. The prolonged practice of

emotional repression has had detrimental effects. According to hooks, over time many

Black people have come to the see the practice of emotional repression as desirable and

as "a sign of strong character," whereas the expression of emotion is seen as "foolish"

and a threat to survival (p. 100). Emotional repression, once consciously used as a

survival mechanism, has unconsciously become a part of the organizing framework

thorough which some Black people make sense of their emotional lives.

Kaufman (1992) frames emotional repression as "experiential erasure" (p. 46).

Shame is a central part of the oppression experienced by subordinant groups (hooks,

2001, 2002, 2004a, 2004b; Kaufman & Raphael, 1996); it is also a commonly cited

pattern of internalized oppression (see Appendix A). According to Kaufman (1992),

during the process in which shame is internalized, it can become connected or "bound" to

other emotions, creating an "affect-shame" bind (p. 45). This means that shame is

automatically triggered when the feeling it is bound to is experienced. For example, if

shame is bound to fear, anytime fear is experienced, shame is also experienced.

Experiential erasure occurs when a feeling that is bound to shame is repressed as a

result of the experience of shame. Kaufman (1992) states:

> At that moment when the self suddenly feels exposed, if only to itself, the
> awareness of the contents of the consciousness (and of the triggering affect) can
> be erased experientially. When feeling exposed, the conscious self becomes

blank, if only momentarily. Gradually the self can learn not even to be aware of experiencing a feeling which generates shame. (p. 46)

The feeling of exposure is an integral part of the experience of shame (Fosum & Mason, 1986; Kaufman, 1992; Kaufman & Raphael, 1996). In the moment that it is experienced, the feeling of exposure inherent in shame can cause one to repress or "erase" the experience of the very emotion that is the source of the shame; this happens automatically and unconsciously (Bradshaw, 1988). Because shame can become bound to any number of emotions, experiential erasure can interfere with the awareness and experience of a wide range of different emotions, including anger, fear, joy, and sorrow (Bradshaw, 1988; Kaufman, 1992). This can wreak havoc in the emotional lives of subordinant groups and can contribute to a lack of self-awareness that can keep subordinant groups acting in ways that help to perpetuate and serve the best interests of dominant groups. In addition, it further contributes to the instillation, maintenance, and perpetuation of internalized oppression. Shame and its role in the *psychological state* of internalized oppression will be discussed in further detail later.

B. Duran and E. Duran (1995) name emotional repression among Native American men as a consequence of oppression and colonization. Historically, the role of warrior is an important part of the cultural identity of Native American men. This role includes the responsibility of protecting the community and protecting the land that has been entrusted to it. According to Duran and Duran when a warrior is defeated, that is, unable to fulfill these responsibilities due to the oppression of Native American people, it results in "a deep psychological trauma of identity loss" (p. 36) and a pervasive sense of alienation, both internally and externally. The experience of oppression, coupled with the continued presence of those perceived as being responsible for the oppression, creates a

situation in which feelings of rage, loss, helplessness, and hopelessness are continually

stimulated, yet are unable to be resolved. As a result, these feelings are repressed.

However, these feelings do not disappear.

> The repressed feelings of loss and rage then develop a life of their own in the
> unconscious or in the "Black world," where they may not be accessible to the
> conscious life of the person except through dreams and visions. Nonetheless, the
> repressed feelings in the "Black world" continue to haunt the warrior due to a
> need for these feelings to become resolved and thus allow the person to regain
> harmony. (p. 36)

In Duran and Duran's account, repressed emotions become a part of the unconscious.

Resolving the repressed feelings in this instance would mean, in part, being able to fulfill

the obligations of the warrior. The ongoing oppression of Native Americans has a

detrimental impact on the ability to fulfill these obligations, creating a situation in which

the resolution of repressed emotions is not possible. With no outlet, these feelings

become internalized and are acted out in the family and in the community through a

variety of ways, including violence, alcoholism, and drug abuse (E. Duran, 2006; B.

Duran & E. Duran, 1995; Poupart, 2003), all of which are commonly cited patterns of

internalized oppression.

Shame

Another example of internalized oppression in the area of emotion is shame.

Fossum and Mason (1986) define shame as:

> an inner sense of being completely diminished or insufficient as a person. It is the
> self judging the self. A moment of shame may be humiliation so painful or an
> indignity so profound that one feels one has been robbed of his or her dignity or
> exposed as basically inadequate, bad or worthy of rejection. A pervasive sense of
> shame is the ongoing premise that one is fundamentally bad, inadequate,
> defective, unworthy or not fully valid as a human being. (p. 5)

Offering their understanding of shame, Kaufman and Raphael (1996) state the following:

> To experience shame is to feel *seen* in a painfully diminished sense. Our eyes turn inward in the moment of shame and suddenly we've become impaled under the magnifying gaze of our own eyes. Even when other people are present and watching, we are watching ourselves; but we actually mistake the watching eyes as belonging only to others. Exposure is what we feel in the instant that shame strikes . . . We will feel equally exposed in the moment of shame even in isolation, when no one else is present and watching, the watching eyes belong only to ourselves. (p. 17-18)

From these two definitions two common elements of shame can be delineated: an experience of feeling inadequate, inherently "less than" or flawed and a feeling of exposure. Exposure has two components: exposure to self and exposure to others (Bradshaw, 1988; Kaufman, 1992; Kaufman & Raphael, 1996). Because the experience of shame includes feeling exposed to the self, shame can be experienced alone, as well as in the presence of others (Bradshaw, 1988; Fossum & Mason, 1986; Kaufman, 1992; Kaufman & Raphael, 1996).

A third element inherent in these three definitions can also be delineated as the internalization of the experience of shame. When shame is internalized, the feeling of shame shifts from being a temporary emotion to being a defining characteristic. Describing the effects of internalizing an emotion Bradshaw (1988) states, "The emotion has become part of the core of the person's character, her identity. The person doesn't have anger or melancholy, she *is* anger and melancholy" (p. 11). Thus, a *psychological state* of internalized oppression where the emotion of shame is present includes feelings of inferiority, the internalization of those feelings, and the feeling of exposure.

Shame strikes us at the very core of who we are. It is the source of various psychological and spiritual afflictions, including depression, psychological and spiritual alienation, anxiety, isolation, isolating loneliness, violence, numerous addictions, low

self-esteem, a sense of inferiority, self-doubt, duality, and a sense of inadequacy or failure (Kaufman, 1992; Tigert, 1999). It is important to note that these afflictions are all commonly cited patterns of internalized oppression (see Appendix A). Thus, shame is not only a pattern of internalized oppression and a tool for the instillation of internalized oppression; it is also the source and an inherent part of other patterns of internalized oppression.

The experience of shame is a central part of the oppression experienced by subordinant groups and must be addressed for healing to occur (hooks, 2001, 2002, 2004a, 2004b; Kaufman & Raphael; 1996). Shame impacts the processes of identity development of subordinant groups in ways that are similar across various identities as well as in ways that are distinctive according to particular subordinant groups (Kaufman & Raphael, 1996). According to Young (1990) and Kaufman and Raphael (1996), society constructs any difference from the defined norm as inferior. As a result, subordinant groups are deemed inferior to dominant groups by virtue of their differences and learn to feel shame as a result of the stigma of inferiority.

One of the ways that shame is used to instill internalized oppression is through the shaming of children. The free expression of emotion by children, for example, is often interrupted using shame, particularly when it is inconvenient or when the emotions being expressed are considered inappropriate or undesirable by a parent or care-taker. Emotions considered inappropriate or undesirable include anger, curiosity, fear, various emotions connected to sex, sexual arousal, and sexual curiosity, and weakness (Bradshaw, 1988; hooks, 2004b). Using shame to restrict the emotions of young people is an example of Adultism, that is, the oppression of young people. The presence of other systems of

oppression help to determine which emotions are restricted and for what purpose. For example, where sexism is present, female children may be shamed for their curiosity about sex, whereas male children may have their curiosity encouraged. Through being shamed, children receive and potentially internalize a plethora of messages, the least of which is that their thinking or emotions are wrong or that there is something wrong with them for having particular thoughts and emotions, each of which are examples of internalized oppression.

Watts-Jones (2002) sees shame as one of the barriers to addressing internalized oppression, specifically internalized racism. Shame occurs on two levels: initial or primary shame (i.e., the shame connected to an initial event or experience) and shame about shame, also known as secondary shame or meta-shame (Fossum & Mason, 1986; Kaufman & Raphael, 1996). According to Watts-Jones, for people of African heritage, the first level of shame is the shame that is connected to one's "African-ness" that is derived from racism and the historical experience of slavery. The second level is the "shame of being shamed" (p. 593). While addressing both levels is necessary for healing, Watts-Jones believes that secondary shaming must be addressed first. Secondary shaming is ultimately concerned with the shame of being a "victim" of racism; moving beyond the shame of being shamed will allow people of African descent to address the hurts of the initial shaming. This would require, however, the acknowledgment of the pain and victimization of racism. Watts-Jones states, "This is counter-intuitive to us as an oppressed people, whose survival has depended greatly on our ability to resist the pervasive ideology of our being less than vulnerable in any way" (p. 594). Addressing the secondary shame creates the self-perception of being open and vulnerable to additional

shaming. Thus, a conundrum is created: speaking about the pain of racism, which is an essential and necessary part of the liberation from internalized racism, can lead to feelings and/or the perception of being further exposed and vulnerable to additional victimization by racism.

<center>Interpersonal Relationships</center>

The third area of functioning within the *psychological state* of internalized oppression, Interpersonal Relationships, focuses on the impact of internalized oppression on ways in which subordinant populations connect to and interact with other people. This includes other members of the same social identity groups, other subordinant groups, and members of dominant groups. Three examples of internalized oppression that occur in this area are horizontal hostility, ambivalent relationships, and dissimulation.

<u>Horizontal Hostility</u>

Horizontal hostility is a commonly cited pattern of internalized oppression (Artz, 1996; B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995; Freire, 1970; Moane, 1999; Pharr, 1996; Tappan, 2005; Tigert, 1999; Young, 1990). It is a pattern in which members of subordinant groups target members of their own group or other subordinant groups, as a result of the beliefs, assumptions, and ideology internalized from dominant groups. Horizontal hostility can take many forms, including inter-group violence, intra-group violence, verbal abuse and name calling, and relationship abuse among others (Artz, 1996; hooks, 2004a; Miller, 1986; Poupart, 2003; Pyke & Dang, 2003; Tigert, 2001).

<center>96</center>

Pharr (1996) believes that part of the foundation of horizontal hostility is contempt: subordinant groups are taught to believe in the incapability, inferiority, and lack of value for themselves and members of their group. An effect of this learned contempt is that subordinant group members attack each other rather than focusing on members of dominant groups or on the systems of oppression as a whole. In explaining the impact of horizontal hostility, Pharr (1996) writes:

> For many of us, the pain we feel at the hands of our own people (family, friends, neighbors, allies) is far worse than what we feel from the more distant and abstract institutions and forces that harm our lives in dreadful ways every day." (p. 35)

The familiarity and intimate knowledge that members of subordinant groups have of one another when used in the midst of horizontal hostility can cause pain in very deep and personal ways. Pharr also notes that horizontal hostility not only colludes with oppression, it interrupts organized resistance. Within organizational settings, horizontal hostility can manifest in the form of attacking and being overly critical of organizational leaders and group members, thereby, undermining organizational cohesion and effectiveness and resistance.

Horizontal hostility can also be seen in Tigert's (2001) research on battering in lesbian relationships. According to Tigert, domestic violence between lesbian partners is not only about power and control, it is about internalized heterosexism and homophobia. In a heterosexist society, prevailing cultural norms label anyone who is not heterosexual as deviant, sick, or disgusting. Lesbians (along with the rest of society) are often socialized with this same belief which, along with the resulting discriminatory and oppressive behaviors, causes perpetual trauma in their everyday lives. Part of the

horizontal hostility seen in lesbian battering is the reaction to and re-enactment of this trauma (Tigert, 2001).

The horizontal hostility present in lesbian battering is also due, in part, to the shame that results from internalized heterosexism and homophobia. Drawing from the work of D. L. Nathenson, Tigert (2001) notes that lesbians who enact violence upon their partners are engaging one of two defensive reactions to shame: Attacking the self and attacking the other. In attacking the self, lesbians enacting violence upon their partners may also feel that they are enacting violence upon themselves and that both are deserved. In attacking the other, lesbian batterers may enact violence in an attempt to feel powerful in the midst of feeling powerless.

Ambivalent Relationships

A second example of internalized oppression that occurs in the area on interpersonal relationships is ambivalent relationships. Relationships characterized by ambivalence contain "both love and hate, admiration and contempt, attraction and repulsion" (Moane, 1999, p. 84). Ambivalent relationships can occur between members of subordinant groups or between members of subordinant groups and members of dominant groups.

A discussion of ambivalent relationships with the dominant group can be found in the work of Memmi (1965) who describes the ambivalent relationship that exists between the colonized and the colonizer; the colonized admires and abhors the colonizer, respects and disdains the colonizer, copies the colonizer and seeks to destroy the colonizer. Memmi names two strategies that are utilized by the colonized to deal with the system of

98

colonialism: to "become different", that is, to assimilate, or to "re-conquer all the dimensions which colonization tore away from him" that is, to revolt (p. 120). In assimilating, the colonizer becomes the standard to which the colonized aspires; the colonized destroy parts of themselves to take on the mannerisms, culture, language, and aesthetics of the colonizer. However, Memmi points out that the benefits of a colonial system are dependent upon the existence of a subordinant group; to allow the assimilation of the colonized would mean the end of the colonial system. In the interest of maintaining colonial rule, the colonizer will never allow full assimilation; therefore, the efforts of the colonized to assimilate are futile. Upon realizing this, Memmi believes, the colonized will revolt; the colonizer who was once loved and admired is now hated and scorned.

The end of colonial rule does not necessarily bring about the healing of internalized oppression and the automatic reclamation of a pre-colonial identity, however. Revolution will not automatically expunge the colonizer's influence from the thoughts, beliefs, emotions, actions, and culture of the colonized. Further, revolution will not indefinitely end the interactions between these two groups. Thus, ambivalence that existed between the colonized and the colonizer becomes part of the ongoing relationship between those who were colonized and those who once colonized them.

An example of ambivalent relationships among subordinant group members can be seen in contrasting the previous discussion of Horizontal Hostility with Watts-Jones' (2002) discussion of Intergroup Sanctuary. While horizontal hostility highlights the ways that members of subordinant groups can cause each other great harm, the concept of intergroup sanctuary highlights the ways that subordinant group members can also serve as a source of great support for one another. Writing on internalized racism, Watt-Jones

defines "within-group" as: "a group whose members share the identity of African descent" (p. 592); by extension, such groups can also consist of members who share other social group memberships as well. According to Watts-Jones, within-group sanctuaries create a space that minimizes barriers to addressing internalized racism, allowing more effective healing to occur. Further, within-group sanctuaries provide "the safety of a caring community, whose purpose in coming together is to support each other in healing from a shared experience. It offers a powerful context for witnessing individual and collective pain, for looking deeply" (p. 595).

For subordinant group members, within-group sanctuaries are spaces where their pain is known and where they can know the pain of others. It is a place of familiarity, where isolation can end and where deep healing can occur. In comparing within-group sanctuaries with horizontal hostility, we find that existing in community with other subordinant group members creates the spaces where individuals can be hurt the deepest and, simultaneously, the spaces where they can be healed the most.

Dissimulation

A third example of the internalized oppression in the area of interpersonal relationships can be seen in the use of dissimulation. Zagorin (1996) defines dissimulation as the "lies and deceit people use to express a false and pretended conformity as a response to religious and political persecution" (p. 866). The use of dissimulation is not limited to religious and political oppression, however. It has a very long history as a tool of survival and resistance and is a pattern that has been employed by a variety of other targeted groups across social identities, including race, gender,

biological sex, sexual orientation, and ethno-religious identity (hooks, 2005; Kanuha, 1999; Miller, 1986; Zagorin, 1996). Dissimulation can be used both within individual situational contexts, as well as a part of the long term survival strategy of subordinant groups (hooks, 2005; Scott, 1987.

The heart of the pattern of dissimulation is that systems of oppression force subordinant groups to lie and deceive to survive. According to hooks (2005), part of the experience of enslaved Black people was that "oppressive white people created a dehumanizing social structure where truth-telling could be valued but not practiced and where Black people were judged inferior because of their 'inability' to be truthful" (p. 12). In an oppressive context, the consequences for speaking out, telling the truth, or otherwise directly confronting oppression, can be fatal (hooks, 2005; Miller, 1986; Scott, 1992; Wade, 1997; Watts-Jones, 2002). Thus, Black people as well as other subordinant groups are consistently forced to choose between compromising their individual and communal safety to tell the truth and compromising their personal integrity by deceiving or telling a lie. This dilemma results in a form of duality, the duality of belief and action. Subordinant groups are socialized through existing cultural norms believe in and value honesty, yet are forced to act in ways that contradict this belief, not out of a desire to deceive, but for protection and survival.

It is important to note that the use of lies and deceit is a survival strategy that may have its origins in the experience of oppression. In other words, while subordinant groups may use dissimulation as a survival tactic, it is a behavior that was learned from dominant groups. According to hooks (2005), "A culture of domination is necessarily a culture where lying is an acceptable social norm. It, in fact, is required." (p. 12). Dominant

groups define social norms (Pharr, 1997; Young, 1990); part of the social norms within

oppressive systems is the use of lies and deceit to create, reinforce, and perpetuate

systems of oppression. Memmi (1965) and Miller (1986) for example, point out that one

of the ways dominant groups support and rationalize oppressive systems is through the

intentional creation of false images of subordinant groups that are manufactured solely

for the purpose of justifying the existing system. In other words, dominant groups use lies

and deceit to maintain and perpetuate oppression. If there were no oppression,

subordinant groups would not need to use dissimulation to protect themselves from it.

Dissimulation is thus *used* by subordinant groups as a way of coping with oppression, but

it was *created* by dominant groups to maintain oppressive systems.

One of the ways that dissimulation negatively affects interpersonal relationships is

through the normalization of lies and deceit. Subordinant groups learn through the

experience of oppression that lying is essential for living (hooks, 2005). As a result,

dissimulation becomes a part of the everyday behavior of subordinant groups; it becomes

"normal." Once normalized, dissimulation becomes an ordinary experience and is seen as

a customary part of the way that members of subordinant groups interact with dominant

groups as well as with each other, that is, it becomes a pattern of internalized oppression.

Dissimulation also serves as a barrier to the development of genuine relationships.

hooks (2002, 2005) notes that Black children learn to dissimulate at an early age and thus

learn to create a "false self" that is used to hide their feelings and their authentic selves

(hooks, 2002, p. 63). The result is that when these children reach adulthood, they have a

diminished sense of who they are. It is difficult to form meaningful relationships with

individuals who do not present their genuine selves and, instead, present a carefully

constructed mask or façade. It is even more difficult to do so when the individual wearing the mask has no idea who lies behind it. According to Thomas et al. (2004), there are at least two ways that subordinant groups can triumph over oppression: to develop critical consciousness and to develop "an authentic sense of self" (p. 126). Therefore, the development of a false self via the practice of dissimulation can also interfere with some of the processes through which subordinant groups can resist and overcome oppression.

The use of dissimulation in interpersonal relationships can also give members of subordinant groups a false sense of power (hooks, 2005). Through dissimulation, one can sometimes manipulate and influence individuals and/or the outcome of a particular situation. When done successfully, it can lead to a sense of personal power. This sense of power is false in that it often does not translate into power that allows one to make significant changes in one's life circumstances (hooks, 2005). This power is also false in that it is situational and fleeting; it lasts only as long as the situation or pretense does. In addition, when lies are the foundation upon which one constructs one's personal sense of power, to consistently feel powerful, one must continue to lie. In this way, oppression and internalized oppression become self-perpetuating; one must consistently lie and create new lies to maintain the feeling of personal power.

Mental Health

The fourth area of functioning within the *psychological state* of internalized oppression is Mental Health. Broadly speaking, the area of mental health is concerned with the effects of oppression on the psychological well-being of subordinant groups. The experience of oppression creates, instills, exacerbates, and/or makes subordinant groups

more susceptible to various forms of mental unwellness (Bobbe, 2002; L. Brown, 1986;

Cabaj, 2000; E. Duran, 2006; B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995; hooks 1995, 2001, 2005; Kasl,

1992; Lipsky, 1987; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Kaufman &

Raphael, 1996; Tigert 1999, 2001; Williamson, 2000). Three examples of internalized

oppression in the area of mental health are the hesitance or refusal to acknowledge the

need for and/or seek psychological assistance, substance abuse, and addiction.

Refusal to Seek Psychological Assistance

A fundamental part of healing from the effects of oppression is noticing and

acknowledging that one has been hurt (hooks, 1995, 2005; Watts-Jones, 2002). It is an

ironic conundrum, then, that one of the patterns of internalized oppression found in

subordinant groups is the refusal or reluctance to acknowledge the hurt of oppression and

the resistance to ask for or actively seek help in overcoming and healing the

psychological hurt of oppression. hooks (1995) highlights the importance of healing:

> To break with a colonizing mentality, Black folks must acknowledge the need for
> racial uplift via cultural production and the development of Black genius even as
> we also engage a politics of resistance that can address the psychological trauma
> we experience, both in the past and in the present, as we struggle to create self and
> identity within white supremacist society. (p. 135)

According to hooks, healing is necessarily a part of resistance and is central to

interrupting internalized oppression (i.e., the colonial mentality). For this reason, the

refusal to seek psychological help is particularly damaging to individual and collective

efforts of resistance; it undermines the capacity of subordinant groups to effectively

respond to and resist ongoing oppression by limiting access to resources that could

facilitate healing.

The refusal or reluctance to acknowledge hurt and to seek psychological help also inhibits the development of liberatory consciousness. Through the process of socialization, humans learn what is necessary for them to behave in ways that collude with existing systems of oppression (Harro, 2010; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002). According to Love (2010), a liberatory consciousness enables those who are targeted by oppression to live their lives with awareness and intentionality and to use that awareness to move beyond oppressive socialization and into liberatory action

Refusing to acknowledge and/or to seek help in healing the hurts of oppression colludes with oppressive socialization processes by ensuring that these processes and their effects continue uninterrupted; subordinant groups will continue to play the roles as they have been and are being socialized into. This hinders the development of liberatory consciousness and interferes with the capacity for subordinant groups to engage in liberatory action. Further, refusing to acknowledge and/or to seek help in healing the hurts of oppression contributes to the "numbness and dullness" (Love, 2000, p. 471) that prevent both subordinant and dominant groups from acting and existing in the world with critical awareness, an essential component of liberatory consciousness (Love, 2000).

One reason that subordinant groups may not acknowledge and/or seek help is the internalization of stereotypes. Thomas et al. (2004) and hooks (2005) point to the internalization of the image of the superwoman as a part of the reason that Black women may not seek help with mental health difficulties. Thomas et al. (2004 state:

> Historically rooted in slavery, there was a notion that Black women were incapable of being overworked. It is this illusion that causes Black women in our society to be thought of as born with extraordinary strengths and an ability to withstand an extreme level of work and stress. (p. 119)

Similarly, hooks (2005) states:

> Black people, and Black women in particular, are so well socialized to push ourselves past healthy limits that we often do not know how to set protective boundaries that would eliminate certain forms of stress in our lives. This problem cuts across class. (p. 41)

While its roots may lie in dehumanization and the rationale developed to justify slavery, the stereotype of the superwoman, is still a part of the socialization of Black people. This belief, based on the thinking of the dominant group, has become internalized to the point where Black people in general and Black women in particular have come to see themselves in the same way (hooks, 2005; Thomas et al., 2004). Women who have internalized the myth of the superwoman have internalized the belief that Black women can bear impossible stress with no ill effects. Women who do not live up to this image, that is, women who may fail in some way, need help, or suffer some form of mental illness may see themselves or be seen by others as weak and incapable of being a strong Black woman (Thomas et al., 2004).

Internalizing the stereotype of superwoman can lead to the development of other thoughts, feelings, or emotions that exacerbate its effects, including depression, anxiety, paranoia, interpersonal insensitivity, hostility, and depression (Thomas et al., 2004). Further, it can inhibit intimacy and romance in relationships and can facilitate the inability to be vulnerable as well as the inability to form deep connections with others, which can result in isolation. According to Thomas et al. (2004), the stereotype of the strong Black woman is often used by Black women as a form of control, particularly when things feel out of control. Given the function of this stereotype for control, the psychological effects of internalizing this stereotype can cause one to feel further out of control, increasing the need or desire to exert one's strength (hooks, 2005). In this way,

internalizing this stereotype can become a self-sustaining cycle of pain and internalized oppression. The internalized oppression that is present in the refusal to acknowledge pain and/or to seek psychological help is informed by a belief system that has been internalized from the dominant group; this is also a form of internalized oppression.

A second reason that subordinant groups may not seek help is because they may not believe it is necessary. hooks (2005) states:

> Internalizing racist thinking, or attempting to cavalierly subvert it, many Black people tend to see us as having an edge on "silly" white people who have all these mental health problems and need therapy. Our edge, our one claim to superiority is supposedly that we do not suffer mental illness. (p. 51)

Similar to the stereotype of the superwoman, the internalized racist thinking that hooks refers to has its roots in the belief that Black people can suffer tremendous adversity with no ill effects; a manifestation of this internalization is the belief that Black people are immune to mental unwellness. Thomas et at. (2004) point out that one reason that subordinant groups do not seek help is because they *expect* to have the experiences associated with mental unwellness: "One reason that Black women do not get treated for depression is that they often expect to feel sad, tired and unable to think straight" (p. 122). In this instance the hurt and psychological impact of oppression has become normalized; subordinant groups become desensitized to the experience of mental unwellness because it has become a part of their everyday lived experience, and it is, therefore, believed that psychological assistance is not necessary.

Subordinant groups may also refuse or be reluctant to seek help because of an internalized sense of shame and fear (hooks, 1995, 2005; Tigert, 2001). According to hooks, one of the ways that Black people have resisted racial oppression is through focusing on Black success-despite-oppression, rather than the ways that Black people

have been hurt because of oppression. This is not always to the benefit of the Black

community; hooks (2005) states: "any aspect of Black life and culture that could be seen

as evidence of mental disorder, of pathology, had to be hidden or viewed as utterly

aberrant" (p. 134). This view attaches stigma to members of the Black community who

suffer some form of chronic, intermittent, or acute mental health issue. As a result, a

culture of shame surrounding the issue of mental health has developed in the Black

community (hooks, 1995, 2005). People who are in need of assistance with some form of

mental unwellness will avoid seeking it out of fear of being labeled weak and deficient

and/or the shame that results from this label. Tigert (2001) also names shame as one of

the reasons that subordinant groups may avoid seeking help. According to Tigert,

lesbians who are involved in relationships in which violence is present are often

prevented from seeking help because of shame. This shame has several sources: the

internalized shame of heterosexism and homophobia, the shame of being battered by

another woman, and/or the shame of being a woman who batters. When combined with

the pattern of refusing to seek psychological help, shame and fear create an interlocking

web of internalized oppression that is mutually supporting and self-perpetuating.

Substance Abuse and Addiction

A second example of internalized oppression in the area of mental health is

substance abuse and addiction. Addictions can come in many forms. Discussions on

addiction are many times limited to substance abuse, most often centering on drug and

alcohol addictions (Bradshaw, 1988; hooks, 2002). However, an over-emphasis on drug

and alcohol addiction allows other kinds of addictions that are equally problematic to go

unnoticed. Addictions can involve a wide variety of other substances and behaviors,
including food, sex, gambling, tobacco, rage, caffeine, nicotine, shopping, sweets, work,
and relationships (Bradshaw, 1988; hooks, 2002; Kasl, 1992; Kaufman, 1992).

Kasl (1992) makes a connection between oppression, internalized oppression, and
addiction. Kasl believes that oppression is the root of addiction. Kasl specifically
mentions patriarchy as one of the sources of addiction: "Patriarchy, hierarchy and
capitalism create, encourage, maintain and perpetuate addiction and dependency" (p. 53).
Her analysis also includes an awareness of other kinds of oppression: "People use drugs
often as a result of hopelessness and despair from poverty, hunger, racism, sexism, and
homophobia" (p. 73). While not giving a clear understanding of how patriarchy and other
forms of oppression interconnect, her point is clear: Oppression can cause addiction. Kasl
argues that addictions are used to cover-up, avoid, run away from, or anesthetize feelings
of inner chaos and conflict, duality, emptiness, shame, exhaustion, and fear. Many of the
feelings named by Kasl are also commonly cited patterns of internalized oppression (see
Appendix A).

Though it is relevant to multiple aspects of her discussion of addiction, Kasl
(1992) links the concept of internalized oppression specifically to co-dependence.

> [Co-dependence is] a child like state that results in having one's self-worth
> dependent on external validation. It's about living from the outside in, molding
> oneself to fit around others' lives instead of directing the course of one's own life
> from internal cues, hopes, dreams, wisdom and power. (p. 266)

People who are co-dependent exhibit a pattern of identifiable traits, including fear,
passivity, submissiveness, being unassertive, dependent on others, and focus on pleasing
others (Kasl, 1992). Drawing on the work of Miller, Kasl points out that the traits labeled

as "co-dependent" are traits that develop as a part of the experience of oppression. Miller (1986) states:

> It follows that subordinates are described in terms of, and encouraged to develop, personal psychological characteristics that are pleasing to the dominant group. These characteristics form a certain familiar cluster: submissiveness, passivity, docility, dependency, lack of initiative, inability to act, to decide, to think, and the like. In general, this cluster includes qualities more characteristic of children that adults – immaturity, weakness and helplessness. (p. 7)

Clearly, there is a large degree of overlap between the characteristics of individuals labeled as co-dependent and the characteristics and behaviors exhibited by oppressed groups. By drawing this connection, Kasl makes a powerful point: Subordinant groups are pathologized and labeled as co-dependent for exhibiting behaviors that are required, expected, and encouraged by systems of oppression. The label of co-dependent is then used to maintain, perpetuate, and justify ongoing oppression. Kasl goes on to redefine codependency as:

> a disease of inequality – a predictable set of behavior patterns that people in a subordinant role typically adopt to survive in the dominant culture. Codependency is a euphemism for internalized oppression and includes traits of passivity, compliance, lack of initiative, abandonment of the self and fear of showing power openly. (p. 279)

While offering a re-conceptualization of codependence, Kasl is in favor of abolishing the term "codependence" altogether and replacing it with the term *internalized oppression syndrome* (IOS). This term allows for the recognition of both individual and societal problems that require both individual and societal solutions.

Dissociation

A third example of internalized oppression in the area of mental health is dissociation. Dissociation is a form of duality. According to Moanne (1999), dissociation

"involves disconnecting or detaching from a set of experiences or feelings, especially related to fear or terror" (p. 62). When dissociation occurs, thoughts, emotions, sensations, and memories are all separated from one's consciousness to effectively cope with the aftermath of an overwhelming or traumatic experience. West (1999) uses the term "self erasure" to describe the range of dissociative mechanisms used by Black women to cope with the experience of intimate violence and its effects. These mechanisms include the alteration of consciousness, "numbing out," body-mind splitting, and acquiescence behavior. West sees dissociation as a healthy coping mechanism that is used in response to oppressive conditions and overwhelming traumatic events. Dissociation, whether conscious or unconscious, can be seen as a practical response to an oppressive and violent context. It preserves some aspect of the self, aids survival and ensures that one is capable of functioning beyond the event that one dissociates from. However, there are costs. The effects of the use of dissociative mechanisms for Black women include the loss of an integrated self, subversion of the growth and development of an authentic self, loss of freedom of self-expression, and the development of life patterns of polarizing and silencing emotional responses (West, 1999).

<div align="center">Internalized Oppression as a Spiritual State</div>

In the literature that highlights internalized oppression as a *spiritual state*, the words spirit and soul are sometimes used interchangeably; for the purposes of this study, they are used interchangeably except when referring to an author who explicitly uses one of these terms over another. It is beyond the scope of this discussion to find agreement on the meaning of the terms "spirit" or "soul." The purpose of this discussion is to shed light

<div align="center">111</div>

on the dimensions of internalized oppression that have to do with the spirit. However, it is important to elaborate on what is meant when these terms are used by the theorists being referenced.

Generally speaking, there are three perspectives represented in the literature concerned with internalized oppression as a *spiritual state*: a religious perspective, a spiritual perspective, and a secular perspective. According to Smith (2004), religion "formalizes and structures our spiritual beliefs into a cohesive system with specific rules and doctrines" (p. 232). Thus, authors writing with a religious perspective are writing from the stand point of a specific religion, tradition, and religious dogma. Spirituality, on the other hand, "has less to do with the worship of one particular God and more to do with our perceived relationship and understanding of those forces considered higher than ourselves" (p. 232). A spiritual perspective includes a belief in higher powers; however, this belief is not attached to the organized structure and dogma of any particular religion. In my interpretation, authors writing from a secular perspective have an understanding of the spirit that is not connected to a specific religious or spiritual tradition or to the idea of a higher power. A secular perspective views the spirit as the essence of one's humanity; it is the repository for the human consciousness and the place from which humans connect with one another. The point of agreement among these three perspectives is that oppression does harm to and is internalized within the spirit (E. Duran, 2006; B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995; Frame et al., 1999; Poupart, 2003; Tigert, 1999; West 1999). From the viewpoint of each of these perspectives, if one's spirit or soul has been wounded, a fundamental aspect of one's self has been impacted; it is here that the hurt of internalized oppression resides and manifests.

In this discussion of internalized oppression as a *spiritual state*, I draw primarily

upon the work on Eduardo Duran, Leanne Tigert, Traci West, W.E.B. Du Bios, and Cheri

Brown. Du Bois (1995) discusses the condition of and relays a vision for Black people in

the United States. In this discussion, he uses both "soul" and "spirit" in a secular sense;

that is, there is no explicit connection between Du Bois' use of these terms and a

religious or spiritual frame of reference. Though he does not explicitly define these terms,

it is my interpretation that Du Bois uses the language of soul and spirit to refer to the

place within humans from which the deepest feelings of hope emerge and the places in

which the deepest hurts reside. It is the fundamental part of one's self and the core of

one's humanity.

B. Duran and E. Duran (1995) use the term soul as grounded in a Native

American epistemological frame of reference:

> In Western experience it is common to separate the mind from the body and spirit
> and the spirit from mind and body. Within the Native American world view this
> as a foreign idea. Most Native American people experience their being in the
> world as a totality of personality and not as separate systems within the person . . .
> Thus the Native American worldview is one in which the individual is a part of all
> creation, living life as one system and not in separate units that are objectively
> relating with each other. (p. 15)

Their perspective on the spirit or soul is one that recognizes the interconnections between

the mind, body, and spirit of the individual and the connections between individual and

the rest of creation; this includes other humans, animals, and the environment (E. Duran,

2006; B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995). Duran and Duran (1995) and Duran (2006) also use

the term spirit within the context of a phenomenon called "spirit intrusion," which Duran

(2006) defines as "The belief that illness is caused by an outside entity invading the

personality" (p. 6). Examples of intruding spirits include evil spirits, the spirit of alcohol,

and the spirits of depression and anxiety (Duran, 2006). For the purpose of examining internalized oppression as a *spiritual state*, this discussion is limited to Duran's reference to the Native American concept of the of "soul wound" as it occurs in humans and will not include the phenomenon of spirit intrusion.

Tigert (1999), West (1999), and Brown (1995) come to the discussion of internalized oppression as a *spiritual state* from religious perspectives. Specifically, they approach this discussion as members of the Abrahamic faiths; Tigert is a Christian and an ordained minister of the United Church in Christ. West is also a Christian and is a member of the United Methodist Clergy. Brown is Jewish. Neither Tigert, West, nor Brown offer explicit definitions of soul or spirit. However, given the religious affiliations of these authors, it can be assumed that their interpretation and understandings of "soul" and "spirit" are grounded in their individual religious perspectives.

I begin the discussion on internalized oppression as a *spiritual state* by addressing the topic of religion and the transmission of internalized oppression. I then address two themes that emerge in discussions of internalized oppression and the spirit: spiritual duality and the soul wound.

Religion and the Transmission of Internalized Oppression

Spirituality and religion play various roles within the resistance and liberation struggles of oppressed people. Watts, Griffith, and Abdul-Adil (1999) name spirituality as a fundamental part of the processes necessary for subordinant groups to resist and overcome oppression. Frame et al. (1999) view spirituality as the foundation of counseling for Black women, and see spiritual-based interventions as particularly

effective for a variety of issues including isolation, internalized oppression, low self-esteem and the desire to develop a positive racial identity. According to Watt (2003), spirituality and spiritual understandings are used three ways in the lives of African American women in college: as a way of coping, as a form of psychological resistance, and as a part of identity development. West (1999) notes that spirituality can assist Black women in resisting violence and in surviving and healing from sexual assault. B. Duran and E. Duran (1995), E. Duran et al. (1998), Shorter-Gooden (2004), Tigert (1999, 2001), Smith (2004), and E. Duran (2006) all assert the fundamental importance of religion and spirituality in healing from trauma and oppression. Aside from these roles, spirituality and religion can play a role in the transmission of internalized oppression.

Brown (1995), reflecting upon her own internalized anti-Semitism, comes to the conclusion that it was transmitted to her through the ceremonies of her faith:

> As a young girl, I sat in synagogue between my parents every Yom Kippur afternoon, glued to my seat as I listened to the readings from the Martyrology service, the recitation of the pious and the saintly Jews who died at the hands of their persecutors. With every graphic reading reminding the congregants of all the suffering that had been inflicted upon Jews, including young children, throughout history, I became increasingly convinced that, as a Jewish child, I was not safe, indeed would never be safe. (p. 44)

Yom Kippur is one of the Jewish high holy days. It is considered by some to be the most important holy days of the Jewish year. As part of the service on Yom Kippur, a martyrology is read. The Jewish martyrology involves the retelling of the stories of the deaths of 10 prominent rabbis in graphic detail. Brown believes that her internalized oppression around issues of safety comes, in part, from the retelling of the graphic deaths of prominent Jews. That these stories are told on what is arguably the most important holiday of the Jewish faith serves to underscore their importance. The message that was

transmitted, interpreted, and internalized by Brown through this ceremony was that it is inherently unsafe to be a Jew in the world.

Brown (1995) elaborates on other vehicles for the transmission of internalized oppression within Jewish religion and culture:

> Yet the Holocaust is but the extreme of two millennia of Jewish persecution, a pattern of suffering so enmeshed with our sense of peoplehood that it is incorporated into our religious ritual, the history we teach to our children, and our sense of our relationship to the non-Jewish world. We proclaim, "Never Again," but our worldview, so entwined with the past, ensures that we will never forget. And in never forgetting, we often fail to maintain an objective picture of the present - separate from the traumas of the past. (p. 45)

In Brown's interpretation, the years of Jewish oppression and suffering have become integrated into many of the important elements of Jewish identity: religion, sense of people-hood, sense of history, and ways of understanding and relating to the world. As a result, the transmission of the internalized oppression comes from multiples places, creating an experience of immersion. Further, the internalized oppression is not only meshed with the past and present; its existence in the future is assured as a result of the intergenerational transmission of Jewish identity. As the culture, tradition, and faith of Jews and Judaism are passed from one generation to the next, so too are unhealed patterns of internalized oppression. Despite the internalized oppression present in various aspects of Jewish identity, many Jews find strength, healing, and liberation in these very same elements of Jewish life and identity. Thus, the Jewish faith, culture, and tradition are vehicles for the transmission of internalized oppression as well as a source of liberation and healing from internalized oppression.

A second example of spirituality and the transmission of internalized oppression can be seen in the work of Tigert (1999), an ordained minister, counselor and lesbian,

who writes about the trauma of and liberation from homophobia and heterosexism. Her discussion of these topics is framed in the religious language of *good* and *evil*. An example of this can be seen in Tigert's reflection on heterosexism: "Heterosexism deprives us of basic civil, human and religious rights. All of this then feeds into the kind of hatred that causes physical, social, spiritual and verbal violence. In other words – evil" (p. 42).

At this point, I demarcate the limits of the following discussion. As it pertains to the issue of religion and the transmission of internalized oppression, Tigert's use of the language of "good" and "evil" is problematic. Any discussion involving these concepts runs the risk of entering an entirely new discourse and body of literature. My intention is not to debate the merits, meanings, or language of "good" and "evil"; that discussion is beyond the scope of this dissertation. My intention is to report the significance of Tigert's work. Her inclusion and discussion of homophobia and heterosexism as systems of oppression makes her thinking on these topics relevant to the discussion of religion and transmission of internalized oppression. Thus, the scope of her discussion has some bearing on this body of literature.

In explaining the effects of heterosexism and homophobia, Tigert (1999) introduces the concept of intra-psychic evil, which she defines as "the horrendous words and images that we internalize from the evil done to us" (p. 46). Tigert uses the following quote from a heterosexual female client in a battering marriage to illustrate her point: "When you're told you're ugly and pathetic often enough, you believe it, and then you tell it to yourself" (p. 46). Tigert's client has not only come to believe the negative messages of her batterer, she has come to repeat them. Through internalization, these

messages have become a part of the way she constructs and understands herself. This definition bears some similarity to definitions of internalized oppression that stress the subordinant group's internalization of the oppressive ideas, thoughts, beliefs, and actions put forth by dominant groups and systems of oppression. Rossenswasser (2002), for example, defines internalized oppression as "believing the derogatory messages and stereotypes that people outside our group say are true about us" (p. 54). Though this definition, as well as others that are similar, are not steeped in a religious perspective and do not specifically use the language of "evil," their essential points overlap. Thus, the concept of intra-psychic evil bears some similarity to existing definitions of internalized oppression.

According to Tigert (1999), one of the places that intra-psychic evil has been experienced in the most painful of ways is inside the church (p. 49). Tigert states:

> The church has the responsibility and power to raise us into our very best selves, celebrating that we are known and loved by God and God's people. But . . . the church is often cruel and abusive in its treatment of us and then proclaims that such treatment is our fault. (p. 49)

This is an example of what Pharr (1997) calls "blaming the victim," a common element of oppression which can lead to development of internalized oppression. Further, it is an example of how internalized oppression is transmitted and instilled through religion and religious institutions.

Within some religious contexts, people who are gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgendered—in essence anyone who is not a gender conforming heterosexual—are labeled as flawed, evil, sick, and perverse and are told that their existence is something to be hidden and to be ashamed of. The word of God, as interpreted by members of the clergy, is then used as the justification for this label (Tigert, 1999). That is to say,

118

negative and derogatory messages *about* members of the GLBT community are transmitted *through* the institution of religion *using* religious doctrine. The transmission of this message within the context of religion and religious institutions is particularly damaging: It carries the weight of divine judgment. Members of GLBT communities internalize this experience of oppression and learn to see themselves as flawed, evil, sick, and/or perverse. Further, they believe that God sees them in this way as well. Thus, for Tigert (1999), the church, which should be a place of spiritual healing, becomes a vehicle for the instillation of internalized oppression and a place of spiritual harm.

According to Tigert (1999), internalizing the harmful messages transmitted through religion and religious institutions can cause "spirit scarring choices," that is, it causes people to "make choices that, in principle, might seem wrong but, in practice are understandable" (p. 47). Tigert gives several examples including excessive drinking and self-mutilation through cutting. Similar self-damaging patterns are cited by other authors to be manifestations of internalized oppression. Cabaj (2000), for example, names substance abuse among gay men and lesbians as a manifestation of internalized homophobia. Bobbe (2002) names alcoholism among lesbians as a pattern of internalized oppression that is a result of both shame and internalized homophobia. Though there are many other examples of patterns that could fit this description, the point is that subordinant populations sometime make choices that may seem problematic in order to survive. Within an oppressive context, however, spirit scarring choices are understandable and serve a purpose. This is consistent with Love's (Personal communication, July 12, 2002) assertion that some patterns of internalized oppression, while harmful, serve a function.

When spirituality, religion, or religious institutions function as the vehicle for the transmission of internalized oppression, subordinant groups are targeted in one of the places where they are the most vulnerable. Religion is responsible for the care-taking of the soul; religion and religious institutions are responsible for cultivating one's connection with the Divine. Religion is the place where, ideally, one can be the safest, the most vulnerable, and the freest, because it is also the conduit or vehicle for connection to the Divine. Being hurt in the place where one should be the most protected heightens the impact and effects of the damage.

Spiritual Duality

A central theme that recurs in discussions on internalized oppression is spiritual duality. Duality is a commonly cited pattern of internalized oppression (Du Bois, 1995; B. Duran & E. Duran; 1995; Fanon, 1967; Freire, 1970; Miller, 1986; Moane, 1999; Morris, 1987; Poupart, 2003; Young, 1990). Generally speaking, duality is a splitting of some aspect of the self that can occur as a result of a subordinate group member's experiences with oppression. Spiritual duality refers to the splitting of the soul or spirit of subordinant groups that occurs as a result of internalized oppression. It can occur within one's self, within one's spiritual community and/or within one's spiritual or religious connection to the Divine. Du Bois, one of the earlier writers to make note of the phenomenon of spiritual duality, addresses the issue as it occurs within the self. "It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's souls by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (p. 38). In this instance, Du Bois names a dynamic within

the pattern of duality that is concerned with the construction of reality, specifically self-perception. Subordinant groups learn to look upon themselves and members of the same group through the perspective of dominant groups (Fanon, 1967; Freire, 1970; Memmi, 1965; Morris, 1987; Young, 1990). They learn to see themselves as the dominant group does, and judge themselves accordingly. Du Bois' use of the word "soul" underlies the depth of this judgment; it is not simply one's self that is judged, it is one's soul.

Du Bois (1995) elaborates further on the duality experienced by Black Americans: "One ever feels his two-ness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder" (p. 38). A *spiritual state* of internalized oppression, in this instance, means to have a soul that is constantly at war—with itself. The internalized oppression described by Du Bois has ripped a soul into two selves that are eternally embattled, yet seeking to merge "into a truer and better self" (p. 39); two selves that are diametrically opposed to one another yet forced to co-exist within the same human shell.

At the heart of Du Bois' (1995) spiritual duality is a conflict between the subordinant group's self-perception and the dominant group's prescribed reality. Du Bois' quote highlights the subordinant group's internalization of the dominant group's belief that Negroes are not, and cannot be, Americans. Du Bois, however, has a different view. Regarding the contributions that Black people offer to America Du Bois writes:

> There are to-day no truer exponents of the pure human spirit of the declaration of independence than the American Negroes; there is no true American music but the wild sweet melodies of the Negro slave; the American fairy tales and folk-lore are Indian and African; and all in all, we Black men seem the sole oasis of simple faith and reverence in a dusty desert of dollars and smartness. (p. 43)

For Du Bois, not only is the Negro an American, but deeply and fundamentally so; Negroes are not simply Americans, but "true" Americans. The souls of Black people are wounded precisely because despite a self-professed American identity, despite the sacrifices and contributions Black people have made to America, the dominant group continues to see them as alien, foreign, or "other." Internalizing this perspective places the soul of Black people at odds with itself. The conflict between what Black people know to be true and the prescribed reality internalized from the dominant group splits the soul in half. To overcome this spiritual duality, would mean to merge these two mutually exclusive selves, that is, to become complete through the unification of the soul. Toward this end, Du Bois states:

> In this merging, he wishes neither of the other selves to be lost. He would not Africanize American, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face. (p. 39)

There is equal value to be found in both halves of the dual spirit. For Du Bois, the goal is to have unification of the Negro soul in such a way that both halves are preserved. To bring about the unification of the soul, one must both heal from the hurt caused by the oppression and deconstruct the system of oppression that caused the hurt in the first place. The challenge for subordinant groups, then, is to heal one's soul while living within a system that constantly wounds one's soul.

Another example of spiritual duality can be seen in the work of Tigert (1999): "Claiming one's self as gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender within the cultural context of a homophobic and heterosexist church and society places one in a position of perpetual

traumatization and cultural victimization" (p. 10). People who are gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender who are part of religious or spiritual communities that are not gay-affirming are often inundated with messages that express the internalized heterosexism and homophobia of their environments. Part of the experience of adherents of Christian religious traditions is the acceptance of and belief in the teachings of the church (Tigert, 1999; West, 1999). In a heterosexist context, for someone who is gay to accept and believe the teachings of the church would be to believe that they are sick, deviant, and abnormal; believing these things about oneself would be internalized oppression. However, if one has a religious identity and recognizes the heterosexist teachings of the church as wrong, it causes a split; one must simultaneously accept and reject the teachings of the church. This is spiritual duality, which is also internalized oppression.

Rejecting heterosexist beliefs is not sufficient for overcoming spiritual duality. Tigert (1999), a minister and pastoral counselor, notes that one client, a gay man who had recently come out, attended a church where homophobic messages were preached and was unable to sit through church services without having a panic attack. This client left the church where these messages were preached and joined a church that was gay-affirming, yet the panic attacks continued. Though this client rejected the heterosexist beliefs and removed himself from that particular religious institution, the duality remained. Rejecting oppressive beliefs is an essential part of healing the spiritual duality of subordinant groups; however, unless attention is also focused on healing the duality, it will remain in place and continue to cause harm.

One way that spiritual duality manifests is in the fracturing of community ties. The fracturing of community ties refers to the psychological, emotional, and spiritual

distance that subordinant group members feel from their community; it is "an overall feeling of estrangement" (West, 1999, p. 57). These communities can include familial communities, racial or ethnic communities, and spiritual or faith communities (hooks, 2005; Padilla, 2001; Tigert, 1999; West, 1999).

According to West (1999), Black women who experience sexual assault can suffer a sense of separation from their communities. This separation is due, at least in part, to internalized oppression. Women who have internalized the experience of violence and assault can sometimes feel as though they were to blame for their experience; they may come to believe that their experience has happened for a reason, and it is, therefore, justified and deserved (West, 1999). This can result in the development of a psychological, emotional, and spiritual split between victim-survivors and their communities. West states, "A sense of alienation and of disconnection pervades every relationship from the most intimate familial bonds to the most abstract affiliations of community and religion" (p. 57-58). Isolated as a result of this disconnection, women who experience this spiritual duality feel "utterly abandoned, utterly alone, and cast out of the human and divine systems of care and protection that sustain life" (p. 57). Where there was once a whole spirit in communion with other humans, there is now a spirit that has been split and that exists in isolation. Part of the experience of belonging to a religious community is being in spiritual union with individuals and communities who share similar religious or spiritual beliefs. Through spiritual duality, subordinant groups are isolated, cut off from connection to a religious community.

Tigert (1999) and West (1999) both note that the spiritual duality of subordinant groups can be heightened when they are in community with people who refuse and are

unwilling or unable to interrupt and confront their own internalized dominance. For instance, when a woman is a member of a community that refuses to confront its own sexism, the internalized oppression experienced by both can be exacerbated. The internalized belief in the subordinant status of targeted groups can create a situation in which issues that directly impact or are relevant to the lives and experiences of members of targeted groups are relegated to a secondary status. When issues connected to a subordinant group arise, they are often marginalized, minimized, overlooked, or ignored (hooks, 1995; Tigert, 1999; West, 1999). As a result, a barrier of invisibility and silence is created and the internalized oppression of the community goes unaddressed (West, 1999). Conversely, the community can also openly embrace internalized dominance and proactively engage in oppressive behavior (Tigert, 1999). Both instances result in deepening the emotional and spiritual duality, community fracturing, and isolation experienced by members of subordinant groups.

Another way that spiritual duality manifests is through spiritual disconnection. Spiritual disconnection refers to a break or disruption of relational continuity between an individual and the source of that individual's religious or spiritual inspiration. According to West (1999), Black women who experience sexual assault can feel deliberately ignored, abandoned, and rejected by God, disoriented in their religious and spiritual worldviews, and experience a collapse in their connection with the divine. Further, women who have experienced violence and assault can sometimes feel as though they are to blame for their experience; they may come to believe that their experience has happened for a reason and is therefore justified and deserved (West, 1999). Internalizing the experience of violence and sexual assault and the resulting spiritual disconnection can

lead to further feelings of internalization, including isolation, shame, abandonment, rejection, feelings of being unwelcome, unloved, and unlovable (Frame et al., 1999; Tigert, 1999; West, 1999). A spirit that was whole in its communion with the Divine is split from the Divine and now exists in isolation.

Tigert (1999) uses the term "alienation" to describe religious and spiritual disconnection. Members of the GLBT community are caught in what Tigert describes as a "double bind" (p. 45). In many religious settings, if one openly accepts and proclaims one's identity as gay, then one can either be ostracized by or choose to live in alienation from one's religious community. If one denies it, then one is denying that one is intentionally made by, and in the image of, one's creator and will, therefore, exist in alienation from one's creator. In Tigert's interpretation the spirit, which should exist in communion with the Divine and with a community of fellow believers, is split; one is forced to choose between being disconnected from one's spiritual or religious community and one's creator. If one understands one's religious and spiritual community to be the only conduit through which one can connect to the Divine, then turning away from one's religions or spiritual community can also mean turning away from one's creator. Tigert states, "I cannot name how many gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgender people who have felt forced to walk away from both church and God in order to save themselves" (p. 45). There are religious or spiritual communities that affirm gay identities and that would allow someone who is gay to be in communion with the Divine and in community with others in ways that do not reproduce patterns of heterosexism and homophobia. Rather than seeking these kinds of communities, internalizing and accepting oppressive beliefs can cause subordinant groups to totally sever their relationships with both their religious

community and their individual relationship with the Divine. This phenomenon can be seen in the words of a gay man counseled by Tigert, "God is for straight people. He has no relevance to my life anymore" (p. 44). Internalized oppression can stand as a barrier to existing in communion with one's religious community and one's creator simultaneously and, therefore, facilitates and/or aggravates religious and spiritual disconnection.

The examples illuminated by Du Bois (1995), West (1999), and Tigert (1999) illustrate the continuum upon which one can experience spiritual duality: within the self, within one's community, and within ones relationship with the Divine. Experiencing duality anywhere along this continuum cuts one off from primary sources of support. When this occurs, the impact of oppression is increased; the pain of the oppression and internalized oppression is compounded by the absence of mechanisms that would better enable one to heal from, resist, and overcome oppression. In addition, the isolation that is produced as a result creates an optimal environment for the further instillation and continued maintenance and perpetuation of internalized oppression.

The Soul Wound and Native American Historical Trauma

Another conceptualization of internalized oppression as a *spiritual state* can be seen in the literature on the soul wound. The construct and language of the soul wound emerged from the work of Eduardo Duran, a Native American psychologist, and has its origin in Native American phenomenological interpretations of the historical and contemporary experiences of Native American peoples (E. Duran, 2006; B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995). Accordingly, this literature focuses exclusively on delineating the phenomenon of the soul wound as it occurs in Native American communities, though the

concept has similarities and applicability to the experiences of other targeted communities. In this literature, the terms Native American and American Indian are used interchangeably. In this discussion I follow that form, depending on the preference of the author.

The soul wound is the collective unhealed trauma of Native American people that is a result of the historical and contemporary experience of oppression (E. Duran, 2006; B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995; B. Duran, E. Duran, & Brave Heart, 1999). The concept of the soul wound is best understood within a historical context (E. Duran, 2006; B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995). The history of Native American interaction with the dominant group within the United States is one of pervasive oppression. It is a history of genocide, physical, psychological and sexual assault, destruction of Native American cultures and traditions; destruction of Native American families and familial systems; forced assimilation and acculturation; and dishonored treaties (E. Duran, 2006; B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995; Poupart, 2003; Takaki, 1993). The trauma from this experience is understood by Native Americans to have occurred, in part, in the soul (E. Duran, 2006). The term "soul wound" first emerged through Duran's work as a psychologist on Native American reservations (B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995). In attempting to assess the psychological needs of Native Americans living on the reservation, Duran engaged in numerous interviews and conversations in which members of the reservations described the pain that the community was feeling as a wound to the soul (B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995). According to Duran and Duran, in Native American epistemological frameworks, there is no separation among mind, body, and spirit; this framework includes the belief that "the individual is a part of all creation" (p. 15). The soul wound, then, includes injury

that has occurred not only on a spiritual level but on the psychological and physical levels as well. It also includes the trauma of forced relocation and the loss and separation from traditional lands and sacred spaces (Brave Heart-Jordan & DeBruyn, 1996; B. Duran, E. Duran, & Brave Heart, 1999; E. Duran et al., 1998; Weaver & Brave Heart, 1999).

Two central components of the soul wound are that it is multigenerational and cumulative. Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) and B. Duran, E. Duran, and Brave Heart (1999) suggest that the oppression that is the source of the original soul wound is *ongoing*; current generations of Native Americans must not only contend with the unhealed pain of their ancestors, they must also contend with the pain that has been caused by the soul wound in their own lives. Thus, each succeeding generation of Native Americans is trapped in a conundrum of trying to heal past injuries while in the midst of being hurt. According to E. Duran (2006), E. Duran et al. (1998), B. Duran, E. Duran, and Brave Heart (1999), left unhealed, the soul wound becomes more severe with each consecutive generation. This creates a situation in which healing and liberation becomes increasingly difficult.

Historical Experience of Oppression

Soul Wound

No Healing, no grieving, accumulation over generations

Contemporary Experience of Oppression

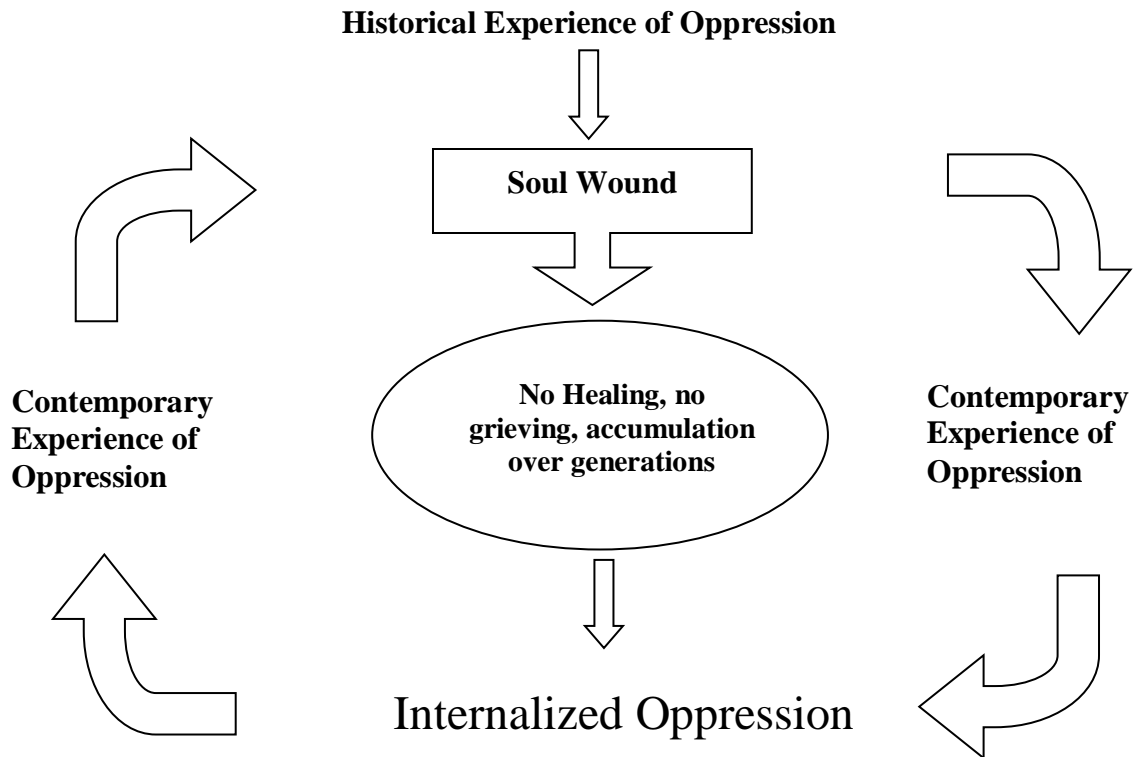**Contemporary Experience of Oppression**

Internalized Oppression

Figure 5.1 Relationship between the Soul Wound and Internalized Oppression

It is important to note that the soul wound is not internalized oppression; internalized oppression is a result of the soul wound. A historical experience of oppression has caused trauma to the souls of Native Americans; this is the soul wound. That experience of oppression is internalized and becomes both multigenerational and cumulative because the pain and trauma from the soul wound is left unhealed. This leads to the development of patterns that can be characterized as manifestations of internalized oppression. Examples of patterns of internalized oppression that have been cited in the literature on the soul wound include intergroup violence, interpersonal and relationship abuse, sexual abuse, alcoholism, drug abuse, suicide, depression, and anxiety (E. Duran,

130

2006; B. Duran & E. Duran 1995; Poupart, 2003). These patterns are consistent with patterns developed by other oppressed groups and are commonly cited patterns of internalized oppression (see Appendix A).

Historical trauma is one of the most frequently used terms in the literature on the soul wound. Historical trauma is defined as "A constellation of features that occur in reaction to multigenerational, collective, historical and cumulative psychic wounding over time – over the lifespan and across generations" and includes "incomplete mourning and the resulting depression absorbed by children from birth onward" (B. Duran, E. Duran, & Brave Heart, 1999, p. 64). According to Duran, Duran, and Brave Heart, historical trauma "encompasses the aftereffects or racism, oppression and genocide" (p. 65). This notion of historical trauma includes phenomena that can be characterized as internalized oppression. Other terms that are seen as synonymous with the soul wound include historical trauma, historical legacy, Native American holocaust, American Indian holocaust, and intergenerational posttraumatic stress disorder (B. Duran, E. Duran, & Brave Heart, 1999; E. Duran et al., 1998).

As the literature on historical trauma evolved, Brave Heart (2003) has differentiated historical trauma from what she calls Historical Trauma Response (HTS). Brave Heart defines historical trauma as "cumulative emotional and psychological wounding, over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences" (p. 7). Examples of these group trauma experiences include, war and prisoner of war trauma, starvation, displacement, the separation and placement of Native American children into boarding schools, and other forms of forced assimilation. HTR is defined as "the constellation of features in reaction to this trauma" (p. 7) and includes

131

such things as substance abuse and other kinds of self-abusive behaviors, anger, difficulty in recognizing and expressing emotions, depression, anxiety, and low self-esteem. Many of the patterns named by Brave Heart as historical trauma response are commonly cited patterns of internalized oppression. Poupart (2003) and B. Duran and E. Duran (1995), for example, name alcohol abuse as a pattern found in various native American communities, while Bobbe (2002) and Cabaj (2000) name alcohol abuse as a pattern found in gay and lesbian communities (for additional examples see Appendix A). Brave Heart's notion of HTR can be viewed as the collection of patterns and manifestations of internalized oppression that results from Native American historical trauma.

Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) examine an aspect of the soul wound that they call Historical Unresolved Grief, which results when the pain and loss of the soul wound goes ungrieved and, therefore, unhealed (i.e., unresolved). Historical unresolved grief accumulates over generations and results in and contributes to the development and maintenance of unhealthy community-wide behavior patterns (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). Specific patterns mentioned by Brave Heart and DeBruyn include alcoholism, child abuse, domestic violence, high rates of suicide, and homicide, all of which are commonly identified patterns of internalized oppression (see Appendix A).

Historical unresolved grief has two components: historical trauma and disenfranchised grieving. Historical trauma in this instance refers to the past and contemporary experiences of oppression endured by Native American people. It includes the tremendous pain, suffering, and loss that occurred, and continues to occur, over multiple generations. Specifically, Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) name the experience of genocide, forced separation of Native American families and mandatory attendance at

federally operated boarding schools, physical sexual and emotional abuse, forced assimilation, and relocation. Part of the historical trauma experienced by American Indians is the prohibition of the ceremonies, rites, and rituals used in grieving. Grieving processes help to aid in healing (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). Forced assimilation policies and practices, such as the US government's outlawing of Native American ceremonial practices and mandatory boarding school attendance for Native American youth prohibited culturally appropriate grieving. Without these processes, the ability to resolve grief and to heal, thereby interrupting internalized oppression is limited.

The second component of historical unresolved grief, disenfranchised grieving, is defined as "grief that persons experience when a loss cannot be openly acknowledged or publicly mourned" (Doka, cited in Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998, p. 62). Disenfranchised grief refers to grief that has been systematically denied recognition and made inaccessible. According to Brave Heart and Debruyn, the disenfranchised grief of American Indians is caused, in part, by the stereotype of Native American people as "savage" and "stoic," which creates a perception that they are incapable of having feelings and experiencing grief. As a result, "there is little recognition of their sense of loss, need to mourn or ability to do so" (p. 63).

Historical unresolved grief exacerbates the soul wound and facilitates the instillation, maintenance, and perpetuation of internalized oppression. The combination of lack of recognition of the pain of American Indians, coupled with a prohibition on culturally appropriate expression of grief, creates a situation in which healing is extremely difficult. The pain of the soul wound from past and present generations, the pain of disenfranchised grief, and the denial of culturally appropriate expressions of grief

133

offer Native Americans no reprieve; grief has no outlet and few opportunities to heal.

Therefore, existing patterns of internalized oppression in the American Indian community

that result from the soul wound have fertile ground and continue to thrive in successive

generations.

CHAPTER 6

INTERNALIZED OPPRESSION AS ACTION

El-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz, also known as Malcolm X, was a powerful advocate

for the rights of Black people in the United States. A gifted orator, his speeches very

often called upon Black people to liberate themselves by changing their thinking and

behaviors. In his speech entitled, "Message to the Grass Roots," Malcolm X (1965) refers

to "house Negroes," that is, those who identify with the slave masters. He states:

> They would give their life to save the master's house quicker than the master
> would. The house negro, if the master said, "We got a good house here," the
> house negro would say, "Yeah, we got a good house here." Whenever the master
> said "we," he said "we." That's how you can tell a house Negro. If the master's
> house caught on fire, the house Negro would fight harder to put the blaze out than
> the master would. If the master got sick, the house Negro would say, "What's the
> matter, boss, we sick? We sick! He identified himself with his master more than
> his master identified with himself. (p. 10)

In this quote, Malcolm X succinctly describes part of the complex relationship between

those who were enslaved and slave-master, subordinant and dominant. In doing so, he

illustrates three commonly cited patterns of internalized oppression: care-taking and

focus on needs and desires of the dominant group (Artz, 1996; personal communication,

B. Love, July 12, 2002; Miller, 1986; Moane, 1999; Morris, 1987), identification with the

dominant group (B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995; Fanon, 1964; personal communication, B.

Love, July 12, 2002; Morris, 1987; Pharr,1997; Tappan, 2005) and psychological and

emotional dependence (Ahluwalia & Zegeye, 2001; Freire, 1970; Miller, 1986; Moane,

1999). In addition, he identifies the essence of internalized oppression as *action*; the

oppressed act in ways that collude with and perpetuate their oppression.

Internalized oppression as *action* is the third defining element of internalized oppression. It is important to examine internalized oppression as *action* for two reasons. First, oppression occurs on more than just the cognitive, emotional, and psychological levels. The beliefs, attitudes, and assumptions instilled by systems of oppression inform the thinking of individuals and groups and, therefore, have an impact on and are manifested in their everyday actions and practices. It is through action that systems of oppression are supported, instilled, perpetuated, and maintained (personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002). In other words, it is not only important that we consider specific patterns of internalized oppression and their effects (e.g., shame, in-group violence), we must also consider the phenomena of patterned behavior itself (e.g., how and why patterns occur). Patterns of internalized oppression have ramifications that extend beyond the individual in which they manifest; as a systemic phenomenon, they contribute to the maintenance and perpetuation of systems of oppression (Jackins, 1999; Lipsky, 1987; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Pharr, 1997). Further, patterns of internalized oppression have been one of the primary obstacles to the creation and success of liberation movements of subordinant groups (Lipsky, 1987; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Pharr, 1997).

The second reason that it is important to examine internalized oppression as *action* is that it helps to identify manifestations of unconscious or subconscious internalized oppression. There are times when the actions of a given individual are in contradiction to that individual's professed beliefs and values. An example of this would be when a woman professes a desire to work for liberation from sexism yet unconsciously acts in ways that collude with and perpetuate it. There is a contradiction

136

present between the words and deeds of the woman in this example. Thus, one's actions, rather than one's words, are sometimes a more telling indicator of what one truly believes. When there is dissonance or a contradiction between an individual's professed belief and that individual's behavior, it can indicate the presence of an underlying belief that supersedes and takes precedence over the articulated belief. Examining internalized oppression as *action* uncovers this contradiction and exposes the dissonance between unconscious internalized belief structures and conscious articulations of beliefs (personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002).

<p style="text-align:center;">Patterned Behavior</p>

Patterns of internalized oppression are conscious or unconscious patterns of human behavior within dominant and subordinant groups that reinforce, maintain, perpetuate, and/or collude with systems of oppression. Patterns of internalized oppression found within subordinant groups are influenced by or have developed as a direct result of being targeted by systems of oppression. They can occur within the emotional or cognitive realm, as in the case of the patterns of low self-esteem and poor self-concept (J. Bell, 2006; Comas-Diaz, 1994; Freire, 1970; Miller, 1986; Moane, 1999; Pharr, 1996), as well as within the behavioral realm as in the case of violence and horizontal hostility (B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995; Freire, 1970; Moane, 1999; Pharr, 1996; Tigert,1999; Young, 1990). Patterns that are emotional or cognitive in nature are not always observable without behaviors that are associated with or indicative of the pattern. For example, a pattern of poor self-esteem might be observable through behaviors, such as self-sabotage, neediness, or self-harm.

Theorists within the literature on internalized oppression often show degrees of overlap in naming the existence of specific patterns of internalized oppression exhibited by subordinant groups. For example:

- J. Bell (2006), Miller (1986), Moane (1999), Pharr (1997), Tigert, (1999) and B. Duran and E. Duran (1995) name anger, rage, or hostility as a pattern of behavior exhibited by various subordinant populations.

- Ahluwalia and Zegeye (2001), Brown, (1995), Freire (1970), Love (personal communication, July 12, 2002), Miller (1986), Moane (1999), Morris (1987), Pharr (1997), and Tigert (1999) name patterns of fear and terror exhibited by subordinant groups.

- Comas-Diaz (1994), Joffe and Albee (1988), Love (personal communication, July 12, 2002), Miller (1986), Moane (1999), Tigert (1999), Woolley (1993), and Young (1990) mention patterns of powerlessness experienced by subordinant groups.

Theorists writing on internalized oppression describe not only the *existence* of these patterns but often name *the same or very similar patterns,* even when referring to *different* populations. Thus, different subordinant populations may exhibit similar patterns of internalized oppression.

Patterns of internalized oppression occur on both the individual and group levels (Jackins, 1999; Lipsky, 1987, Love, 1998; personal communication, July 12, 2002; Tigert, 1999). While individuals and groups may have the same (or very similar) patterns, each manifestation of a particular pattern is different as a result of the unique experiences of the individual within which the pattern is manifested. What marks a thought, feeling,

138

or behavior as a pattern, or part of a pattern, is that it happens repetitively and consistently in response to the same stimuli or stimuli that *feels similar* (Jackins, 1999; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002). When a specific reaction to a triggering stimulus occurs repeatedly, subordinant groups become conditioned to respond to this stimulus in a consistent manner, that is, the response becomes automatic. While there is always the possibility of responding in a different way, the existence of a pattern of internalized oppression lessens the likelihood that this will occur. Accordingly, patterns of internalized oppression are preset lines of thought, feeling, or action that have developed as a result of and operate in response to the experience of oppression.

Jackins (1999) believes that human thinking and behavior is inherently flexible. Our innate intelligence allows us to respond to each situation we encounter in creative ways by utilizing the relevant information at hand and comparing and contrasting that information with previous experience. Patterns of internalized oppression, however, interrupt this process. According to Jackins, when a pattern is in operation "its rigid functioning tends to completely replace, partially replace or influence and distort the actions which arise out of the flexible processes of the person's thinking" (p. 15). The thoughts, feelings, and actions of subordinant groups are at best influenced and distorted and at worst completely overtaken when patterns of internalized oppression are in operation. The response of subordinant populations to oppression is prescribed, controlled, and limited by the confines of the pattern. Thus, unique situational responses and isolated individual behaviors are not representative of a pattern of internalized oppression (Jackins, 1999; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002).

Patterns of internalized oppression can be both intermittent and chronic (Jackins, 1999; Lipsky, 1987; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002). Intermittent patterns are patterns that play out sporadically or occasionally in response to a specific or situational stimulus. An example of an intermittent pattern is binge eating. Thomas et al. (2004 identify binge eating as one of the ways that Black women respond to the experience of oppression. Black women, triggered by the overwhelming stress of dealing with oppression, will sometimes turn to food for comfort (hooks, 2005; Thomas et al., 2004. Intermittent patterns of internalized oppression temporarily overtake and overwhelm subordinant groups and replaces autonomous, creative thoughts, feelings, and actions with a pre-programmed response. As opposed to examining the ways to reduce or ameliorate the effects of oppression and stress, food becomes a source of comfort and offers a temporary reprieve.

In contrast to intermittent patterns, chronic patterns are patterns that are consistently ongoing and in operation at all times. Chronic patterns are very deeply embedded. They are a part of the organizing framework of subordinant groups, that is, they become a part of the way that subordinant groups understand, think about, and respond to themselves, their group, the dominant group, and the world around them (personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002). Further, they consistently influence or dictate one's thoughts, feelings, behaviors, and choices. Lipsky (1987), for example, notes that racism has inflicted profound wounds and has instilled deep chronic patterns of internalized oppression within Black people. These chronic patterns are consistently present and in operation, so much so that many Black people have come to believe that they are an inherent part of Black culture. Lipsky cites examples of chronic patterns, such

as horizontal hostility, criticism, and invalidation of Black children and leaders; isolation from other Black people; and internalized stereotypes. When subordinant groups come to believe that the results and effects of oppression are an inherent part of their individual and collective identities, the internalization of oppression is complete. This is the effect of chronic patterns of internalized oppression (personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002).

Whether experienced as intermittent, chronic, or both, patterns of internalized oppression become a default mode of action. When a pattern is in operation, it interrupts one's ability to think and act freely, independently, and creatively; to experience spontaneous emotion; and to make autonomous decisions. Patterns of internalized oppression can and often do operate independent of the awareness, knowledge, or consent of the individuals experiencing them (personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002). They interrupt the ability to freely choose a course of action and to delimit individual behaviors with a *predetermined* course of action that is based in the experience of oppression. The predetermined course of action occurs without regard to whether the thoughts, feelings, or behaviors of the pattern are logical, accurate, rational, warranted, or in the best interests the individual experiencing the pattern. Therefore, as a set of actions and responses that have their genesis in and boundaries defined by the experience of oppression, patterns of internalized oppression limit the effectiveness of subordinant groups in resisting oppression. While they may serve a purpose, patterns ultimately collude with systems of oppression and aid in the instillation, perpetuation, and maintenance of internalized oppression (personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002).

Functions of Patterns

Patterns of internalized oppression serve at least three functions: reproduction of oppressive systems, survival, and protection. These functions are not mutually exclusive of one another; patterns of internalized oppression can and often do serve in a multifunctional capacity. For example, a pattern can serve both a protective and a survival function while simultaneously reproducing oppressive systems (personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002).

Reproductive Functions of Patterns

One of the functions of patterns of internalized oppression is that they help to uphold and perpetuate existing power structures and systems of oppression (Jackins, 1999; Lipsky, 1987; Love, 1998, personal communication, July 12, 2002). Every system of oppression has a corresponding worldview or "system of assumptions, values, rationales and beliefs about the world" (personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002). The purpose of this set of beliefs is to rationalize existing systems of oppression and to instill into subordinant (and dominant) groups an understanding of themselves and their place in the world that is predetermined and defined by oppression. This system of beliefs is in place to ensure that subordinant groups think and behave in ways that maintain their status as members of subordinant groups. When this belief system is successfully implanted and members of subordinant groups engage in actions based upon this system, the instillation of internalized oppression is evident (personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002). In essence, patterns of internalized oppression ensure that the oppressed continue to play the role of subordinant thereby supporting,

perpetuating, and colluding with systems of oppression (Freire, 1970; Fanon, 1967; Love, 2000).

Survival Function of Patterns

        A second function of patterns of internalized oppression is survival. Patterns of survival develop to assist subordinant groups to stay alive and endure the horrific conditions created by systems of oppression. Love (2000), for example, names the preference for chitlins, which are pig intestines, as a survival pattern. Chitlins (also known as chitterlings) are considered "soul food" (Latshaw, 2009, p. 109). Chitlins and other kinds of soul food are not only considered traditional African American delicacies, they are also considered to be reflective of African American identity and culture (Latshaw, 2009).

        During the times of slavery, chitlins were given to enslaved Black people as food, along with other parts of the pig that were undesirable (de Lisser, 1999; Jones, 2006; Love, 2000). In a setting where food was often scarce, nothing could afford to be wasted. Accordingly, chitlins of other parts of the pig considered inedible became a part of the African American diet out of necessity. Today, chitlins are still a part of the traditional cuisine of the Black community today, despite the fact that Black people in the United States are no longer enslaved and despite that chitlins are very high in fat and, when eaten as a regular part of the diet, have been shown to have extreme adverse effects on the health of Black people (de Lisser, 1999). The pattern of eating pig intestines out of the need to survive oppressive conditions has become a part of African American culture (Love, 2000).

Another example of a survival pattern is care-taking and focusing on the needs of the dominant group. Violence and the threat of violence are very often used to instill fear in subordinant populations (Miller, 1986; Pharr, 1996; Young, 1990). Violence and the resulting fear that occurs when violence has taken place are an important part of maintaining systems of oppression (Young, 1990). In an environment where violence is possible at any time and the fear of violence is present (i.e., an environment where oppression is present), focusing on the dominant group and being sure their needs are met is a way to avoid pain, trauma, and possibly death (Fanon, 1967; hooks, 2005; Miller, 1986; Tigert, 1999; Memmi, 1965). In a world where sexism and misogyny, for example, are present and thriving, it is often a matter of survival that women cater to and serve the interests of men (Miller, 1986). It is important to note, as pointed out by Love (personal communication, July 12, 2002) and Lipsky (1987), while survival patterns assist subordinant groups in enduring oppressive circumstances and help to ensure their continued existence, at some point these patterns outlive their usefulness. When this happens, patterns of internalized oppression no longer serve the best interests of subordinant groups and, instead, become barriers to liberation.

Protection Function of Patterns

A third function of patterns of internalized oppression is protection. Some of the patterns of subordinant groups have developed exist to serve as a shield against things that are considered threatening (B. Duran & E. Duran, 1995; Jackins, 1999; Lipsky, 1987; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Poupart, 2003). These threats can be real or imagined and can be physical, psychological, and/or emotional in nature. While

protection patterns may offer subordinant groups some form of defense against oppression, they also cause harm in the process.

One example of a pattern of protection can be seen in a phenomenon called "The Dozens." The dozens are an African American cultural tradition that developed in response to and as a result of the experience of oppression (Lipsky, 1987). It is known by a variety of other names, including cracking, capping, snapping, wolfing, signifying, dissing, or joning, among others (Kelley, 1997; Lefever, 1981). The dozens are seen as a game of sorts and is typically learned as a child or adolescent (Chimezie, 1976; Jordan, 1983; Kelley, 1997; Lefever, 1981). While they may take various forms, the dozens are essentially a verbal contest or duel, whereby two or more people engage in an exchange of insults. The targets of these insults typically include one's mother, one's family, or one's self (Chimezie, 1976; Jordan, 1983; Kelley, 1997; Lefever, 1981).

An example of the dozens is the "Yo Mama" joke. This particular form of the dozens has become a part of popular culture; there are yo mama books (Barlow & Roberts, 2005; Payne; 2007; Percelay, 1994; Pop & Rank, 1995, 1999), websites (see http://yomama.urbanhumor.com and http://www.pimpdaddy.com/yomama-default.shtml) and even an "Yo Mama" television show featured on the music video cable channel MTV (see http://yomomma.tv/). The content of yo mama jokes (and the dozens in general) varies and often colludes with various systems of oppression through jokes that target individuals (or their families) based upon age, size, physical appearance, mental ability, socioeconomic status, and skin color. Some examples of yo mama jokes include:

Yo mama's so Black, she bleeds smoke.
Yo mama's so Black, she makes asphalt look grey.
Yo mama's so Black, she got her tattoo done in chalk.

Yo mama's so Black, she can leave fingerprints on charcoal.(Pimpdaddy's Yo Mamma Snaps, 2004)

The content of these of examples collude with racism through the denigration of Blackness, more specifically Black women. According to Kelley (1997), "The goal of the dozens and related verbal games is deceptively simple: to get a laugh" (p. 35). However, in the process of "getting a laugh," individuals playing the dozens disseminate content and engage and learn processes that collude with and perpetuate oppression.

The dozens are a pattern of internalized oppression that serves functions of both protection and survival. Lipsky (1987) views the dozens as an example of a survival-based pattern of internalized oppression which developed "in the slavery era of our oppression as a necessary response to acute problems of survival in that situation" (p. 9). Lefever (1981) sees the dozens as a form of social control:

> The explanation of playing the dozens that I want to elaborate is that it is a survival technique, a protective device against being victimized. By playing the game, young Black men learn how to face up to an antagonistic society and to deal with conflicts both within the larger white society and within their own family and peer groups. Rather than resorting to physical means to resolve conflicts, a choice that would often be suicidal, the dozens evolved as a way to develop self-control and to handle one's temper. (p. 76)

From the perspectives of both Lipsky and Lefever, the dozens are a practical response to being targeted by oppression. In the game of the dozens, one loses if one cannot maintain one's composure or shows any sign of being hurt or offended. Thus, one develops a "thick skin": to win, one learns to maintain self-control and a cool pose despite being insulted. This thick skin helps to ensure one's survival by serving as a form of protection and a barrier against that harm that one can experience within oppressive environments. The dozens, however, are far from benign; like other protection patterns in seeking to offer protection, they cause a great deal of harm.

Aside from offering protection, the dozens are also a form of ritual humiliation and degradation. When patterns of internalized oppression are not healed, subordinant groups can become trapped in a cycle of recreating the original event, situation, or dynamic from which they sought protection (hooks, 1995; Jackins, 1999; personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002; Lipsky, 1987). In the case of protection patterns, this may occur because subordinant groups feel that it is necessary to prevent being further victimized. Playing the dozens is not only the re-enactment of internalized oppression; it is a vehicle through which internalized oppression is instilled, perpetuated, and maintained.

Playing the dozens also reproduces and reinforces many of the oppressive dynamics experienced by subordinant groups. This occurs through both the content of the insults exchanged and the process of playing. In playing the dozens, one is forced to reenact both the role of the dominant and the role of the subordinant: one insults and is, in turn, insulted by the other members of the game. One wins the dozens by: breaking thorough the defenses of one's opponents and eliciting some kind of emotional response or by eliciting a more favorable response from spectators than your opponent. The more visceral the response elicited either from one's opponent or the spectators, the more decisive one's victory is considered. In this sense, the dozens socializes and teaches children how to inflict emotional and psychological pain, as well as to laugh and enjoy when it is inflicted upon others. They also learn that this dynamic is a normal part of human relationships. This can be clearly seen in the following quote:

> Black people [talk to] each other, like, as if they were enemies. And you know, you can be good friends [with another Black person], but you [talk to] them like an enemy. Well, another person [a non-Black person] would consider it as treating them as an enemy, but we call it friendship. Like we tease each other, and hit on

each other, and talk about each other all the time – that's considered friendship. And that's what [the dominant society] call[s] abnormal. But that's the way most Black people I know who are friends *are*. They say if you can talk about their mother and get away with it you *must* their friend. (Fordham, 1999, p. 272)

The speaker in this quote has come to believe that playing the dozens, that is, teasing, talking about one another, and about one another's mother is a part of friendship. This belief, along with the development of the thick skin and cool pose that one learns from playing the dozens, are examples of desensitization; one becomes so accustomed to being humiliated, degraded, and insulted that it no longer elicits or warrants a response. Further, it is also a form of dissociation (i.e., one learns to separate oneself from the experience of being humiliated and insulted) and psychological numbing.

Playing the dozens trains members of subordinant groups to bear humiliation and degradation in silence (Lipsky, 1987). A by-product of this training is that the skills and abilities of subordinant groups to respond to incidents of oppression can become restricted; playing the dozens socializes and traps subordinant groups into responding to episodes of oppression in a particular way and robs subordinant groups of the capacity to resist such humiliation and degradation in ways other than silence. This further undermines the capacity for Black people to resist the very oppression that this protection patterns aim to resist.

Another example of protection patterns can be found in the autobiographical book *Don't Play in the Sun*, written by Marita Golden (2004). As a child, while Golden is playing outside on her bike, her mother comes outside and yells the following:

"Come on in the house – it's too hot to be playing out here. I've told you don't play in the sun. You're going to have to get a light skinned husband for the sake of your children as it is." (p. 4)

148

Implicit in the admonition of Golden's mother is the internalization of the dominant group's view of Black people. From the perspective of her mother, Golden was damaged – her brown skin doomed her: "And yet for my mother," Golden states, "darkness, Blackness, in its own way was a kind of disease whose progress, in its assault on me, she felt she had to try to halt" (p. 10). Also implicit in this admonition was a preference for and attribution of superiority to the dominant group and things associated with it; in this case, this pattern manifests as an aesthetic preference. Because Golden's complexion was already brown, her mother believed the best that could be done was to avoid passing it on to her children. Golden's children could be saved only by having a father of lighter skin. Thus, not only is a lighter, whiter aesthetic preferred, it is the way to overcome the "disease" of Blackness. Both the internalization of the dominant group's view and the preference for and attribution of superiority to the dominant group are commonly identified patterns of internalized oppression (see Appendix A).

In her retrospective analysis of this situation, Golden (2004) comes to the following understanding:

> My mother strove nonetheless to warn me of the pitfalls and traps of the world she had not made but knew not how to destroy. From the vantage point of the present, I know now that those words, so harsh, and so brutal were offered to me not as the punishment I heard but as an act of love and protection. (p. 11)

Golden's conclusion regarding her mother's comments initially seems counter-intuitive. Such a powerfully negative comment can have harmful consequences for the self-esteem and self-concept of a brown-skinned child. There is nothing a child can do about the color of her skin, thus a belief in the inferiority of brown skin offers no respite; the child is perpetually and inherently defective. However, Golden understands her mother's comments within the context of her mother's experience as a brown-skinned woman in

149

the United States. This experience taught her two things that were innately present in her comments: to value light skin and that dark skin was bad and something to be avoided. In a context where racism is present, having lighter skin brings one closer to whiteness, thus, someone with lighter skin is given more opportunities, paid more, and is considered more attractive. Goldsmith, Hamilton, and Darity (2006), for example, found that white employers display a preference for lighter skinned Black men and that Black men with light skin have an approximate 7% wage advantage over medium and darker skinned Black men. Golden's mother sought to protect her from the consequences of making her already-brown skin even darker; this meant making her daughter aware of the hierarchy of skin color, including her place within that hierarchy.

Ironically, though she sought to protect her child, the actions of Golden's (2004) mother not only contributed to the perpetuation of the very system that is the source of the threat, she simultaneously undermined Golden's ability to resist and respond to that threat in an effective way. This is the essence of protection patterns: in serving to protect subordinant groups from harm, they cause harm in the process and decrease the ability to resist oppression. Similar to playing the dozens, one of the long-term effects of hearing comments of this nature again and again is desensitization; one learns to accept such comments as a part of one's lived experience, and it becomes normalized. Once this occurrs, the range of possible responses to this oppression becomes limited. In Golden's case, given the parental authority involved, her response in that moment was limited to acquiescence. Instilling a preference and value for light skin and a white aesthetic ensures that Golden would see herself and people similar to her in the same way: fundamentally flawed.

Learning to value a white aesthetic and adhering to the politics of a skin color hierarchy may offer some protection in that one is aware of the rules of a racially oppressive system and has learned to adhere to them, which would better enable one to work within the confines of that system for individual gain. However, it will not change that system; instead, it reinforces it, thus, any gains made are superficial at best and come at a very high cost (e.g., healthy self-esteem and a positive sense of self).

Though the experience of Marita Golden is used here to illustrate internalized oppression as *action*, the remaining elements of internalized oppression can be seen in this example as well. The processes of internalized oppression that are in operation include: intergenerational transmission, that is, the passing of internalized oppression from one generation to the next; internalization, that is, the process whereby the actions and comments made by Golden's mother are integrated into Golden's identity, and socialization, the process in which Golden is learning what it means to be a Black woman. The states of internalized oppression include the *psychological* and *spiritual state*s of internalized oppression that would lead Golden's mother to make such a comment and the psychological and *spiritual state*s of internalized oppression that Golden experienced as a result of it. Another aspect of the action of Golden's mother that should be considered is how this specific action fits into larger, overarching patterns of internalized oppression. There are a number of ways that the interaction among the three elements of internalized oppression in this example can be interpreted. My point, however, is to illustrate that the defining elements of internalized oppression are present in this example and are occurring at the same time.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS, AND FURTHER RESEARCH

Summary

Internalized oppression is one of the fundamental mechanisms through which oppressive systems maintain their existence in society. It is a complex and dynamic phenomenon that is present and reproduced through the everyday behavior, actions, and functioning of both dominant and subordinant groups. This research presents a generalized theory of internalized oppression, focusing specifically on the internalized oppression experienced by subordinant groups (also known as internalized subordination). In this research, the theory that I present identifies internalized oppression as having three core components or "defining elements" that demarcate its facets: *process*, *state,* and *action*. In any given situation in which internalized oppression is at hand, all three of the defining elements may be present and in operation. Though the defining elements are presented in this study separately for the purpose of analysis, in reality they are mutually interdependent; all three are necessary for internalized oppression to be instilled, perpetuated, and maintained.

Process refers to the ways in which subordinant groups integrate the prevailing negative beliefs and stereotypes of oppressive systems. This includes processes that may be consciously or unconsciously, and intentionally or unintentionally transmitted to or between subordinant group members. The four processes covered in this study are Internalization, Socialization, Intergenerational Transmission, and Acceptance. *Internalization* refers to ways in which external values, beliefs, and understandings

become a part of the inner psychological landscape of subordinant groups. *Socialization* refers to the ways in which members of subordinant groups learn the rules and expectations of society and what it means to be a member of a particular social group. *Intergenerational transmission* refers to the ways in which internalized oppression is transmitted from one generation to the next. Finally, *Acceptance* refers to the ways in which subordinant groups consciously or unconsciously collude with or acquiesce to the beliefs, values, and prescribed roles required of them by oppressive systems. The latter of these three processes, that is, socialization, intergenerational transmission, and acceptance, all describe some part of the way in which oppression is internalized and, thus, can be seen as sub-processes of internalization.

The second of the defining elements of internalized oppression, *State*, refers to consistent presence of qualities, traits, and characteristics within subordinant groups that are attributable to or that have developed as a result of being targeted by systems of oppression. These characteristics are present and in operation within the daily lives and functioning of subordinant groups. In my current conceptualization of internalized oppression there are at least two states: a *psychological state* and a *spiritual state*.

The *psychological state* of internalized oppression refers to the consistent psychological condition of subordinant groups; it includes the characteristics, emotions, and patterns of psychological functioning of subordinant groups that have been impacted or altered by the experience of oppression such that they collude with, perpetuate, and help to maintain systems of oppression. The psychological state of internalized oppression is constant; it manifests in the everyday psychological functioning of

individual subordinant group members as well as within the everyday psychological functioning within and between groups.

The *spiritual state* of internalized oppression is the phenomenon whereby wounds resulting from the experience of oppression are integrated into and manifested within the spirit of subordinant groups in ways that reproduce and collude with oppression. As a part of the *spiritual state* of internalized oppression, spiritual and religious traditions, institutions, and doctrine can become both a vehicle for the transmission of internalized oppression and a place where internalized oppression is manifested. The *spiritual state* of internalized oppression impacts the *individual* souls of subordinant groups, the religious and spiritual *communities* of subordinant groups as well as individual and *communal relationships* with the Divine.

The third and final element of internalized oppression, *Action*, refers to ways that the everyday practices and behaviors of subordinant groups consciously or unconsciously support, reproduce, collude with, and perpetuate systems of oppression. This happens through patterned behavior: As a result of being targeted by systems of oppression, subordinant groups develop consistent and repetitive ways of engaging and responding to the situations and dynamics they encounter, that is, they develop patterns of internalized oppression.

Together the three elements of internalized oppression, *state*, *process,* and *action* describe the phenomenon of internalized oppression and identify the ways in which it is instilled, manifested, perpetuated, and maintained in subordinant populations (See Figure 7.1).
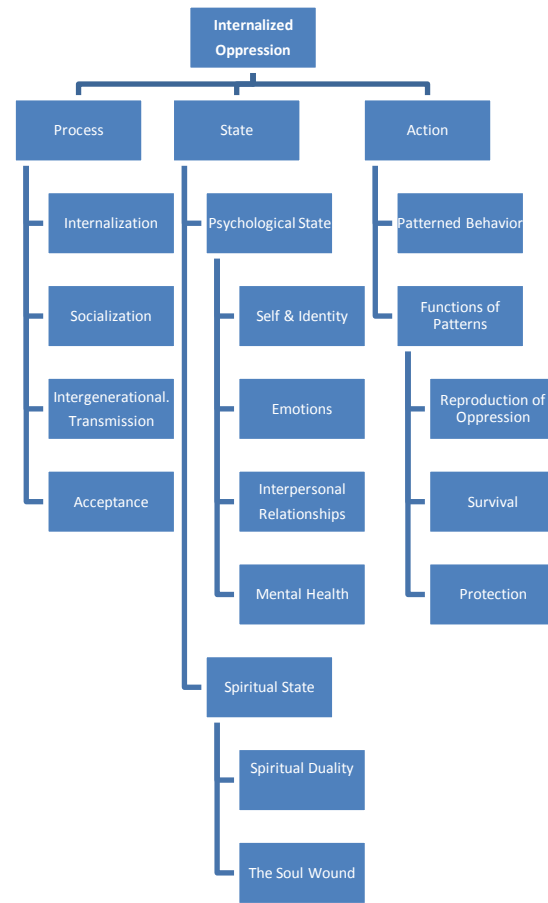
154

Figure 7.1 The Defining Elements of Internalized Oppression

Implications

The framework presented in this research has several implications. First, students, theorists, and practitioners of Social Justice Education and related fields will find this framework helpful in better understanding the concept of internalized oppression. As a generalized theory of internalized oppression, this research helps to clarify what is meant by the term "internalized oppression." The phenomenon of internalized oppression is more intricate than the current literature illustrates. This study brings clarity by synthesizing existing definitions and understandings of internalized oppression into a single coherent framework.

A second, related implication for this research is that it potentially enables scholars, students, and practitioners to address more of the complexities of internalized oppression by providing a shared framework, language, and point of reference. This is true in discussions of both the general phenomenon of internalized oppression and on the specific manifestations of internalized oppression that are associated with different social identities (e.g., internalized racism, internalized heterosexism, etc.). In addition, this framework provides a structure that addresses not only the different elements of internalized oppression and their relation to one another but also the relationship of internalized oppression to systems of oppression. This helps to deepen the conversation on internalized oppression by locating the discussion within a larger structural understanding of oppression, which serves to clarify and/or emphasize the focus of discussion and analysis.

A third implication for this research is that it provides a framework that can be used by researchers for the purposes of empirical research. To date, very little research,

quantitative or qualitative, has been conducted on this phenomenon. The empirical

research that has been conducted to date has been challenged by a limited theorization of

internalized oppression and/or an understanding of internalized oppression that lacks

theoretical anchoring. The framework presented in this research offers a more thorough

and precise definition of internalized oppression, which is intended to clarify and ease the

process of conducting research on this multifaceted phenomenon.

A fourth and final implication for this research is that it provides a framework that

could potentially be used in the development of interventions and methodologies that can

be used to address internalized oppression in multiple contexts. Counselors and other

mental health professionals, for example, can make use of this framework for individual,

family, and group therapies to address the effects of oppression. As this framework

breaks down the phenomenon of internalized oppression into its core components, it can

be used to develop interventions using these components. Parents, for example, can

examine their own internalized oppression (i.e., the existence of states of internalized

oppression) and the processes involved in its transmission, while simultaneously

examining how they might transmit it to their children.

Recommendations for Further Research

The importance of the concept of internalized oppression in understanding

systematic oppression has long been recognized by scholars and practitioners, yet it

remains an under-theorized and under-researched phenomenon. Developing a more

thorough understanding and analysis of internalized oppression is important to further

comprehend and ameliorate the effects of oppression. My recommendations for further

research, therefore, include both the continued theorization of internalize oppression as well as the implementation of empirical research.

My first recommendation is that the concept of internalized oppression be taken up and further researched within the field of psychology. While the psychological process of internalization has been covered extensively, the concept as it applies to the internalization of oppressive information and processes has not. Therefore, there remains a gap in literature between the psychological concept of internalization and a psychological understanding of the internalization of oppression.

My second recommendation for future research is that the model presented in this research be further developed and applied to specific social identity groups. One of the goals of this framework is to provide an explanation of how internalized oppression operates across social identities. Examining this phenomenon *across* identities helps to uncover the similarities between different forms of internalized oppression, thereby establishing a foundational explanation of the general form and function of internalized oppression. However, while there are similarities in the internalized oppression between social identity groups, there are also differences. These differences are such that they warrant their own investigation. This theory should also be further extended to include the examination of intersections of identity and people who are targeted by multiple forms of oppression, such as women of color (who are targeted by racism and sexism) or poor people with disabilities (who are targeted by classism and ableism), for example.

My third recommendation for further research is to explore the application of a generalized theory of internalized oppression to dominant groups (i.e., internalized domination). The instillation, maintenance, and perpetuation of internalized domination

are inherent and critical parts of oppressive systems (personal communication, B. Love, July 12, 2002). Although internalized domination is outside of the scope of this research, it is, nevertheless, important and in need of further theorization. Interrupting oppression, ending oppressive systems, and moving into liberatory action all require action on the part of both dominant groups and subordinant groups. Just as subordinant groups must work to divest themselves of and heal from internalized oppression, so too must dominant groups.

My fourth and final recommendation is the undertaking of sustained programs of research on internalized oppression. There is still a great deal to learn about this phenomenon. Given its conceptual significance and the abundance of descriptive material about internalized oppression, there should now be an emphasis placed upon the further development of this concept based upon empirical data. These programs of research should be both qualitative and quantitative in nature.

<div align="center">Conclusion</div>

In the broadest possible view, the elimination of internalized oppression has the potential to transform humans, human relationships, and society as a whole. Although the purpose of this dissertation is to present a framework to better understand internalized oppression, this endeavor exists primarily within the context of making efforts toward better understanding, theorizing, and enacting liberation. The value of understanding internalized oppression lies in presenting information that will allow the work of liberation to be performed more effectively. Liberation can be defined as:

> the creation of relationships, societies, communities, organizations and collective spaces characterized by equity, fairness, and the implementation of systems for

<div align="center">159</div>

the allocation of goods, services, benefits and rewards that support the full participation of each human and the promotion of their full humanness. (Love, Brigham, DeJong, & Williams, 2007, p. 1)

The work of liberation is to recover, reclaim, and reaffirm the belief in the unlimited potential of all humans. Further, it is to engage individual, institutional, and cultural processes and mechanisms to support and provide resources to critically engage and manifest this belief through the creation of a fair and equitable society. That is, liberation is not only to believe in the potential and value of all humans, it is also the process of putting this belief into action.

To effectively engage in liberatory action and to partake in liberation movements, time must be taken to consider and understand the phenomenon of internalized oppression and how best to interrupt it; this includes learning to think, act, behave, and envision ways to exist that are outside of the influence of systematic oppression. Love (2010) calls this the development of a "liberatory consciousness" which "enables humans to live outside the patterns of thought and behavior learned through the socialization processes that helps to perpetuate oppressive systems" (p. 599). Healing the wounds of internalized oppression, coupled with developing a liberatory consciousness can enable all humans to engage their lives and other humans with authenticity and compassion and with their best thinking and fullest humanity intact and present.

COMMONLY IDENTIFIED PATTERNS OF INTERNALIZED OPPRESSION

Pattern (individual & group)	Variation	Source
Adequacy and competency		C. Brown (1995); Love (2002)
Alienation		Bartky (1990); B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); Freire (1995); Hershel (1995); Love (2002)
Anger, rage, hostility		J. Bell (2006); B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); Miller (1986); Moane (1999); Pharr (1996, 1997); Tigert (1999, 2001)
Apathy, ambivalence, fatalism		Comas-Diaz, 1994; Freire, 1970; Moane, 1999; Morris, 1987
Arrogance		Moane, 1999
Attacking group leaders		B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); Pharr (1997)
Attribution of superiority of the dominant group	Competence; credibility, belief in invincibility, infallibility and/or magic of dominant group; mistrusting our thinking; love/hate paradox, envy/desire paradox	Freire (1970); Hershel (1995); Lipsky (2006); Love (2002) Miller (1986); Tappan (2003)
Attraction to and repulsion to dominant group		Fanon (1967, 1968); Freire (1970)
Belief in victimization status or sense of victimhood/suffering		Brown (1995); Freire (1970) Love (2002)

Care-taking/focus on needs and desires of dominant group	Mammification, placing dominant group's needs & Interests above your own	Artz (1996); Love (2002) Miller (1986); Moane (1999); Morris (1987)
Collusion		B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); Morris (1987); Kirk & Okazawa-Rey (2007)
Contempt		Pharr (1996, 1997)
Criticism and invalidation		Dominick & Ebrahimi(2010)
Deference to the dominant group	Submissiveness, passivity, docility	Miller (1986)
Desire to emulate dominant group		Freire (1970); Memmi (1965)
Dissimulation		hooks (2005) Miller (1986); Moane (1999)
Duality	Individual, cultural, consciousness	Du Bois (1995); B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); Fanon (1964, 1968); Freire (1970); Miller (1986); Moane 1999); Morris (1987); Young, 1990)
Failure to rebel, docility, compliance		Freire (1970); Love (2002); Morris ((1987); Pharr (1996,1997); Kasl (1992)
Fear and terror	Fear of freedom, fear of own power and self-determination, fear of violence, fear of action against oppression	Ahluwalia & Zegeye (2001); Brown (1995); Freire (1970); Love (2002); Miller (1986); Moane (1999); Morris (1987); Pharr (1996,1997) Tigert (1999)

Feelings of inferiority (self and group) and failure		Ahluwalia & Zegeye (2001); Comas-Diaz (1994); Love (2002); Miller (1986); Moane (1999); Pharr (1996); Tigert (1999, 2001)
Feeling of failure		B. Duran & E. Duran (1995) Miller (1986)
Feelings of insecurity		J. Bell (2006); Moane (1999)
Feeling ugly, evil, bad, unloved, or unwanted		J. Bell (2006); Comas-Diaz (1994); Miller (1986)
Feelings of being Unsafe		C. Brown (1995); Love (2002)
Grief		B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); Moane (1999)
Guilt		B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); Moane (1999)
Helplessness		Ahluwalia & Zegeye (2001); B. Duran & E. Duran (1995) Love (2002); Moane (1999)
Hopelessness, Despair		J. Bell (2006); B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); Moane (1999); Woolley (1993)
Humiliation		Moane (1999)
Identify with those in power/dominant group		B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); Fanon (1967, 1968); Love (2002); Morris (1987); Pharr (1996); Tappan (2003)
Isolation		C. Brown (1995); Love (2002); Pheterson (1986)
Focus on individual empowerment/ individualism/ no group attachment		Love (2002); Pharr (1996, 1997)
Inappropriate sexual behavior		L. Brown (1986); Moane (1999)

Inter-generational transmission of patterns, historical trauma		Brave Heart (1995, 1998, 2003); Braveheart-Jordan & Debruyn (1995, 1996, 1998), C. Brown (1995); Comas-Diaz (1994); B. Duran & E. Duran (1995) Love (2002); Pharr, (1996)
Internalization of negative group identities/oppressors' view of group	** See other definitions of IO	Fanon (1967, 1968); Freire (1970); Memmi (1965); Morris (1987); Sonn & Fisher, (1998, 2000) Young (1990)
Isolation and loneliness		C. Brown (1995); Love (2002) Moane (1999); Pheterson (1986); Tigert (1999)
Lack of agency, and personal sense of no power, powerlessness		Ahluwalia & Zegeye (2001); J. Bell (2006); Comas-Diaz (1994); Joffe & Albee; Love (2002) Miller (1986); Moane (1999); Tigert (1999) Woolley (1993); Young (1990)
Lack of self-knowledge, distortion of self-knowledge		B. Duran & E. Duran (1995) Miller (1986); Moane (1999)
Lack of control		Love (2002); Tigert (1999)
Learned helplessness		Comas-Diaz (1994); B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); Miller (1986); Morris (1987)
Loss and restriction of identity, history, culture, deculturalization, cultural estrangement		Moane (1999); Sonn & Fisher (1998, 2000),

Low self-esteem, self-respect, self-worth and self-confidence, negative self-concept, self-doubt, self-blame, self- deprecation		Comas-Diaz (1994); Freire (1970); Hershel (1995); Joffe & Albee (1988); Miller (1986); Moane (1999); Morris (1987); Pharr (1996); Sonn & Fisher (1998, 2000); Tappan (2003); Woolley(1993)
Mental Illness and vulnerability to mental illness	Depression, PTSD, anxiety	J. Bell (2006); Comas-Diaz (1994); B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); Moane (1999)
Mutual distrust among group		Moane (1999)
Panic, worry, urgency, hyper-criticalness,		C. Brown (1995); L. Brown (1986); Moane (1999)
Physical symptoms of oppression	Physical ailments, suicide, substance abuse, destructive sexual behaviors,	J. Bell (2006); L. Brown (1986); B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); Brave Heart (2003)
Practice exclusion of other groups or members of own group		Dominick & Ebrahimi (2010); Love (2002)
Preference for dominant group and things associated with it	Aesthetics (skin color, hair texture, Physical features), knowledge constructions	Comas-Diaz (1994); Golden (2004); Love (2002); Russell, Midge, & Hall (1992)
Psychological and emotional dependence, lack of autonomy		Ahluwalia & Zegeye (2001); Freire (1970); Miller (1986); Moane (1999)
Restriction/modifica-tion of action		Moane (1999); Pharr (1997)
Restriction	Of identity, no vision for alternate realities	Moane (1999); Pharr (1997)
Self-hatred	Individual and group	B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); Moane (1999); Pharr (1996); Sonn & Fisher (2000)

Self-medicating and destructive or addictive behaviors	Alcohol, drugs, sex	L. Brown (1986); B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); Moane (1999); Poupart (2003)
Shame		Comas-Diaz (1994); B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); hooks (1995, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005); Kaufman (1992); Bradshaw, (1988); Kaufman & Raphael (1996) Tigert, (1999, 2001)
Unconscious application of internalized beliefs		B. Duran & E. Duran (1995); Jackins (1999); Love (2002); Morris (1987)
Unwillingness to admit weakness or vulnerability		Miller (1986); Moane (1999)
Violence and abuse		Dominick & Ebrahimi (2010); B. Duran & E. Duran (1995)
Violence and destructiveness-- physical, emotional, verbal	Horizontal hostility, inter-group violence	Artz (1996); B. Duran & E. Duran (1995) Bobbe (2002); Freire (1970); Moane (1999); Pharr (1996); Tappan (2003); Tigert (1999, 2001); Young (1990)
Worthlessness, self-degradation		J. Bell (2006); L. Brown (1986); Freire (1970)

SOCIAL IDENTITY CATEGORIES, AND ASSOCIATED OPPRESSIONS

Social Identity Categories	Dominant/ Agent Group	Border Group	Target/ Subordinant Group	Ism
Race	White	Bi/Multiracial	Black, Latino/a, Native American, Asian/Pacific Islander	Racism
Biological Sex	Bio Men	Transsexual/ Intersexed	Bio Women	Sexism
Gender	Gender conforming Bio men & women	Gender Ambigous Bio men & women	Transgender, Genderqueer, Intersexed	Gender Oppression
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual people	Bisexual People	Lesbians, Gay men	Heterosexism
Class	Rich, Upper class People	Middle Class people	Working Class, Poor people	Classism
Ability	Temporarily Able-bodied	People with temporary disabilities	People with disabilities	Ableism
Religion	Protestants	Roman Catholics (historically)	Jews, Muslims, Hindu (etc.)	Religious Oppression
Age	Adults	Young Adults	Elders, Young People	Ageism/ Adultism

Source: Hardiman & Jackson, 2007

APPENDIX C

TERMS USED TO DESCRIBE THE SOUL WOUND AND HISTORICAL TRAUMA

Term	Definition	Applicable Theorists
Soul Wound	Used to describe the cumulative & multigenerational trauma to the soul which, left unhealed, evolves into internalized oppression.	E. Duran, 2006; B. Duran, E. Duran & Brave Heart, 1999; B. Duran & E..Duran, 1995
Historical Trauma (HR)	Cumulative emotional and psychological wounding, over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences.	Brave Heart, 2003; B. Duran , E. Duran & Brave Heart, 1999; Evans-Campbell, 2008
Historical Trauma Response (HTR)	Used to refer to patterns of internalized oppression which have developed in response to historical trauma.	Brave Heart, 2003
Historical Unresolved Grief	Is a component of HTR (?). Used to describe the accumulation of unresolved grief which contributes to and facilitates the installation, perpetuation and maintenance of internalized oppression. Historical Unresolved Greif has two components: Historical Trauma and Disenfranchised Grieving.	Brave Heart, 2003; Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998
Disenfranchised grieving	Refers to grief that a person experiences when a loss cannot be openly acknowledged or publicly mourned. Helps in the installation, perpetuation and maintenance of internalized oppression	Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998

REFERENCES

Artz, S. (1996). On becoming an object. *Journal of Child and Youth Care, 11*(2), 17-37.

Ahluwalia, P., & Zegeye, A. (2001). Frantz Fanon and Steve Biko: Towards liberation. *Social Identities, 7*(3), 455-469.

Auerhahn, N., & Laub, D. (1998). Intergenerational memory of the Holocaust. In Y. Danieli (Ed.), *International handbook of multigenerational legacies of trauma.*(pp. 21-42). New York, NY: Plenum Press.

Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Baranowsky, A. B., Young, M., Johnson-Douglas, S., Williams-Keeler, L. & McCarrey, M. (1998). PTSD transmission: A review of secondary traumatization in Holocaust survivor families. *Canadian Psychology*, *39*(4), 247-256.

Barlow, A., & Roberts, K. (2005). *A portrait of yo mama as a young man: The case against yo mamma.* New York, NY: Three Rivers Press.

Bartky, S. L. (1990). Femininity and domination: Studies in the phenomenology of oppression. New York, NY: Routledge.

Bell, E., & Nkomo, S. (1998). Armoring: Learning to withstand racial oppression. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 29*(2), 285-295.

Bell, J. (2006). *Understanding adultism A key to developing positive youth-adult relationships.* The Free Child Project. Retrieved from http://www.freechild.org/bell.htm

Bell, L. A. (1997). Theoretical foundations of social justice education. In M. Adams, L. A. Bell, & P. Griffin, (Eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social justice: A sourcebook* (pp. 3-15). New York, NY: Routledge.

Bell, L. A. (2007). *Theoretical foundations of social justice education*. In M. Adams, L. A. Bell, & P. Griffin (Eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social justice* (2nd ed., pp. 1-14). New York, NY: Routledge.

Bell, M. (2008). Getting hair "fixed": Black power, transvaluation and hair politics (Master's Thesis, Auburn University). Retrieved from http://etd.auburn.edu/etd/bitstream/handle/10415/1082/Bell_Monita_45.pdf?sequence=1

Belsky, J., Rand, C., & Capaldi, D. (2009). The intergenerational transmission of parenting: Introduction to the special section. *Developmental Psychology, 45*(5), 1201-1204.

Blumenfeld, W. J., & Raymond, D. (1988). *Looking at gay and lesbian life*. Beacon Press.

Boag, S. (2006). Can repression become conscious? *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, *29*, 513-514.

Bobbe, J. (2002). Treatment with lesbian alcoholics: Healing shame and internalized homophobia for ongoing sobriety. *Health & Social Work, 27*(3), 218-222.

Bombay, A., Matheson, K., & Anisman, H. (2009). Intergenerational trauma: convergence of multiple processes among first nations peoples in Canada. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, *5*(3), 6-47.

Bradshaw, J. (1988). *Healing the shame that binds you*. Deerfield Beach, FL: Health Communications.

Brave Heart, M. Y. (1995). The return to the sacred path: Healing from historical unresolved grief among the Lakota and Dakota. Unpublished dissertation, Smith College, Northampton, MA.

Brave Heart, M. (1998). The return to the sacred path: Healing the historical trauma and historical unresolved grief response among the Lakota through a psychoeducational group intervention. *Smith College Studies in Social Work, 68*, 287-305.

Brave Heart, M. (1999a). Gender differences in the historical grief response among the Lakota. *Journal of Health and Social Policy, 10*, 1-21.

Brave Heart, M. (1999b). *Oyate Ptayela*: Rebuilding the Lakota Nation through addressing historical trauma among Lakota Parents. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 2,* 109-126.

Brave Heart, M. Y. H. (2003). The historical trauma response among Natives and its relationship with substance abuse: A Lakota illustration. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs, 35*(1), 7-13.

Brave Heart, M. Y., & DeBruyn, L. M. (1998). *The American Indian holocaust: Healing historical unresolved grief. American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research, 8*(2), 60-82.

Brave Heart-Jordan, M., & DeBruyn, L. (1995). So she may walk in balance: Integrating the impact of historical trauma in the treatment of Native American women. In J. Adleman & G. Enguidanos (Eds), *Racism in the lives of women: Testimony, theory and guides to antiracist practice* (pp. 345-368). New York, NY: Haworth Press

Brave Heart-Jordan, M., & DeBruyn, L. (1996). So she may walk in balance: Integrating the impact of historical trauma in the treatment of Native American women. In J. Adleman & G. Enguidanos (Eds.), *Racism in the lives of women: Testimony, theory and guides to antiracist practice* (pp. 345-368). New York, NY: Haworth Press.

Brown, C. (1995). Beyond internalized Anti-semitism: healing the collective scars of the past. *Tikkun, 10*(2), *44.*

Brown, L. (1986). Confronting internalized oppression in sex therapy with lesbians. *Journal of Homosexuality, 12*(3/4), 99-107.

Cabaj, R. (2000). Substance abuse, internalized homophobia and gay men and lesbians: Psychodynamic issues and clinical interpretations. *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy, 3*(3/4), 5-24.

Carr, L. (1993). The Japanese-American internment: The transmission of trauma to the offspring of the internees. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University.

Chimezie, A. (1976). *The dozens: An African heritage theory. Journal of Black Studies, 6*(4), 401-420.

Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, conciousness and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Comas-Diaz, L. (1994). *LatiNegra:* Mental health issues of African Latinas. *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy*, *5*(3/4), 35-74.

Cui, M., Durtschi, J., Donnellan, M., Lorenz, F., & Conger, R. (2010). Intergenerational transmission of relationship aggression: A prospective longitudinal study. *Journal of Family Psychology, 24*(6), 688-697.

Decker, L. (1995). Including spirituality. *NCP Clinical Quarterly, 5*(1), 1-3.

de Lisser, E.. (1999, March 8). You might not have the stomach for this; it's about chitlins --- They have many adherents among brave food lovers, but they also raise issues. *Wall Street Journal*, p. A1.

Denham, A. (2008), Rethinking historical trauma: Narratives of resiliance. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, *45*(3), 391-414.

Dominick, B., & Ebrahimi, S. Z. (2010). Young and oppressed. National Youth Rights Association. Retrieved from http://www.youthrights.org/oppressed.php

Dresher, K., & Foy, D. (1995). Spirituality & trauma treatment: suggestions for including spirituality as a coping resource. *NCP Quarterly*, *5*(1), 4-5.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1995). *The souls of black folk*. New York, NY: New American Library.

Duran, B., & Duran, E. (1995). *Native American postcolonial psychology*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Duran, B., Duran, E., & Brave Heart, M. Y. H. (1999). Native Americans and the trauma of history. In R. Thornton (Ed.), *Studying Native America: Problems and prospects* (pp. 60-76). Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Duran, E. (2006). *Healing the soul wound: Counseling with American Indians and other native peoples.* New York, NY: Teacher's College Press.

Duran, E., Duran, B., Brave Heart, M. Y. H., & Yellow Horse-Davis, S. (1998). Healing the American Indian soul wound. In Y. Danieli (Ed.), *International handbook of multigenerational legacies of trauma* (pp.341-354). New York, NY: Plenum Press.

Erdelyi, M. (2006). The unified theory of repression. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 29*, 499–511.

Evans-Campbell, T. (2008). Historical trauma in American Indian/ Native Alaska communities: A multilevel framework for exploring impacts on individuals, families, and communities. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 23*, 316-338.

Fanon, F. (1967). *Black skin, white masks*. New York, NY: Grove Press.

Fanon, F. (1968). *The wretched of the Earth*. New York, NY: Grove Press.

Felsen, I. (1998). Transgenerational transmission of effects of the Holocaust: The North American Research Perspective. In Y. Danieli (Ed.), *International handbook of multigenerational legacies of trauma* (pp. 43-68). New York, NY: Plenum Press.

Ferdman, B. M., & Gallegos, P. I. (2001). Racial identity development and Latinos in the United States. In B. Jackson & C. Wijeyesinghe (Eds.), *New perspectives on racial identity development* (pp. 32-66). New York, NY: New York University Press.

Fletcher, B. (1999). Internalized oppression: The enemy within. In A. Cook, M. Brazzel, A. Craig, & B. Greig (Eds), *Reading book for human relations training* (8th ed., pp. 97-102). Alexandra, VA: NTL Institute.

Fonagy, P. (1999). The transgenerational transmission of Holocaust trauma. *Attachment & Human Development, 1*(1), 92-114.

Fordham, S. (1999). Dissin' "the standard": Ebonics as guerrilla warfare at Capital High. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 30*(3), 272-293.

Fossum, M., & Mason, M. (1986). *Facing shame: families in recovery.* New York, NY: Norton.

Frame, M., Williams, C., & Green, E. (1999). Balm in Gilead: Spiritual dimensions in counseling African American women. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 27*(4), 182-192.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, NY: Continuum.

Frye, M. (1983). *The politics of reality*. Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press.

Garber, J., &. Cole, D. A. (2010). Intergenerational transmission of depression: A launch and grow model of change across adolescence. *Development and Psychopathology, 22*(4), 819-830.

Golden, M. (2004). *Don't play in the sun: One woman's journey through the color complex*. New York, NY: Anchor Books.

Goldsmith, A. H., Hamilton, D., & Darity, W. (2006). Shades of discrimination: Skin tone and wages. *American Economic Review, 96*(2), 242-245.

Gottschalk, S. (2003). Reli(e)ving the past: Emotion work in the Holocaust's second generation. *Symbolic Interaction, 26*(3), 355-380.

Griffin, P. (1997). Introductory module for single issue courses, In M. Adams, L. A. Bell, & P. Griffin (Eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social justice: A sourcebook* (pp. 61-81). New York, NY: Routledge.

Grusec, J., & Hastings, P. (2007). Introduction. In J. Grusec & P. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research* (pp. 1-9). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Hardiman, R., & Jackson, B. (1992). Racial identity development: Understanding racial dynamics in college classrooms and on campus. In M. Adams (Ed.), *Promoting diversity in college classrooms: Innovative responses for the curriculum, faculty and institutions* (pp. 21-37). San Franciso, CA: Jossey Bass.

Hardiman, R., & Jackson, B. (1997). Conceptual foundations for social justice courses. In M. Adams, L. A. Bell, & P. Griffin (Eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social justice: A sourcebook* (pp. 16-29). New York, NY: Routledge.

Hardiman, R., Jackson, B., & Griffin, P. (2007), Conceptual foundations for social justice courses. In M. Adams, L. A. Bell, & P. Griffin (Eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social justice* (2nd ed., pp. 35-66). New York, NY: Routledge.

Harro, B. (2010). The cycle of socialization. In M. Adams, W. J. Blumenfeld, C. Castañeda, H. W. Hackman, M. L. Peters, & X. Zúñiga (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice* (2nd ed., pp. 45-51). New York, NY: Routledge.

Hartsock, N. (1998). *The feminist standpoint revisited and other essays.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Hershel, H. J. (1995). Therapeutic perspectives on biracial identity formation and internalized oppression. In Z. Naomi (Ed.), *American mixed race: The culture of micro-diversity* (pp. 169-181). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

hooks, b. (1995). *Killing rage: Ending racism*. New York, NY: Henry Holt.

hooks, b. (2001). *Salvation: Black people and love*. New York, NY: Perennial.

hooks, b. (2002). *Rock my soul: Black people and self-esteem.* New York, NY: Washington Square Press.

hooks, b. (2004). *We real cool: Black men and masculinity*. New York, NY: Routledge.

hooks, b. (2005), *Sisters of the yam: Black women and self-recovery*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Horejsi, C., Craig, B. H. R., & Pablo, J. (1992). Reactions by Native American parents to child protection agencies: Cultural and community factors. *Child Welfare, 71*(4), 329-342.

Jackins, H. (1999). *The list*. Seattle, WA: Rational Island.

Jackson, B. (1975). Black identity development. *Journal of Educational Diversity and Innovation, 2*, 19-25.

Jackson, B. (2001). Black identity development: Further analysis and elaboration. In B. Jackson & C. Wijeyesinghe (Eds.), *New perspectives on racial identity development* (pp. 8-31). New York, NY: New York University Press.

Joffe, J. M., & Albee, G. W. (1988). Powerlessness and psychopathology. In G. W. Albee, J. M. Joffe, & L. A. Dusenbury (Eds.), *Prevention, powerlessness and politics: Reading on social change* (pp. 53-56). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Johnson, A. G. (2001). *Privilege, power and difference*. New York, NY: McGraw Hill.

Jordan, L. (1983). Social construction as tradition: A review and reconceptualization of the dozens. *Review of Research in education, 10*, 79-101.

Kanuha, V. K. (1999). The social process of passing to manage stigma - act of internalized oppression or acts of resistance? *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 26*(4), 27-46.

Kasl, C. D. (1992). *Many roads, one journey: Moving beyond the 12 steps*. New York, NY: Harper Perennial.

Katz, J. H. (2003). *White awareness training: Handbook for anti-racism training*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Katz, M. (2003). Prisoners of Azkaban: Understanding intergenerational transmission of trauma due to war and state terror (with help from Harry Potter). *Journal for the Psychoanalysis of Culture and Society 8*(2), 200-207.

Kaufman, G. (1992). *Shame: The power of caring* (3rd ed.). Rochester, VT: Schenkman Books.

Kaufman, G., & Rapahel, L. (1996). *Coming out of shame: Transforming gay and lesbian lives*. New York, NY: Doubleday.

Kellerman, N. (2001). *Transmission of Holocaust trauma - An integrative view. Psychiatry, 64*(3), 256-267.

Kelley, R. (1997). *Yo' mama's disfunktional: Fighting the culture wars in urban America*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Kim, J. (1981). *Process of Asian American identity development: a study of Japanese American women's perceptions of their struggle to achieve positive identities as Americans of Asian ancestry.* Unpublished dissertation. University of Massachusetts Amherst, Amherst, MA.

Kim, J. (2001). *Asian American identity development theory.* In B. Jackson & C. Wijeyesinghe (Eds.), *New perspectives on racial identity development* (pp. 67-90). New York, NY: New York University Press.

Kirk, G., & Okazawa-Rey, M. (2007). *Women's lives: Multicultural perspectives* (4th ed.). New York, NY: McGraw Hill.

Langnickel, R., & Markowitsch, H. (2006) Repression and the unconscious. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 29,* 524-525.

Latshaw, B. (2009). Food for thought. *Southern Cultures, 15*(4), 106-128.

Lefever, H. (1981)."Playing the dozens": A mechanism for social control. *Phylon, 42*(1), 73-86.

Lerner, M. (1991). *Surplus powerlessness: The psychodynamics of everyday life and the psychology of individual and social transformation.* Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books.

Lipsitz, G. (2006). *The possessive investment in whiteness.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Lipsky, S. (1987). *Internalized racism.* Seattle, WA: Rational Island.

Loeber, R., Hipwell, A., Battista, D., Sembower, M., & Stouthamer-Loeber, M. (2009). Intergenerational transmission of multiple problem behaviors: Prospective relationships between mothers and daughters. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 37*(8), 1035-1048.

Love, B. (1998). Internalized oppression and the life experiences of Black people in the United States. Unpublished Manuscript.

Love, B. (2000). Developing a liberatory consciousness. In M. Adams, W. J. Blumenfield, R. Castañeda, H. W. Hackman. M. L. Peters, & X. Zúñiga (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice* (2nd ed., pp. 470-474). New York, NY: Routledge.

Love B., Brigham, E., DeJong, K., & Williams, T. (2007, March). Critical liberation theory handout, presented at the National White Privilege Conference, Springfield, MA.

Maccoby, E. (2007), Historical overview of socialization research. In J. Grusec & P. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research* (pp. 13-41). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Mass, A. (1991). Psychological effects of the camps on the Japanese Americans. In R. Daniels, S. C. Taylor & H. H. L. Kitano (Eds.), *Japanese Americans: From relocation to redress* (rev. ed., pp. 159-162). Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press,

Mayeda, K. A. (1995). *Generational and transgenerational issues of the Japanese American internment: A phenomenological study*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas.

Memmi, A. (1965). *The colonizer and the colonized*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Miller, J. B. (1986). *Toward a new psychology of women*. London, England: Penguin.

Mitsunori, M. (2009). The intersection of homophobic bullying and racism in adulthood: A graduate school experience. *Journal of LGBT Youth,* 6(1), 47-60.

Moane, G. (1999). *Gender and colonialism: A psychological analysis of oppression and liberation*. London, England: Macmillian.

Morris, B. H. (1987). *Internalized oppression: Implications for participative work systems and the liberation of employees*. Case Western Reserve University.

Morrison, T. (1970). *The bluest eye*. New York, NY: Plume.

Mullaly, B. (2002). *Challenging oppression: A critical social work approach*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Nagata, D. K. (1990). The Japanese American internment: Exploring the transgenerational consequences of traumatic stress. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 3,* 47-96.

Nagata, D. K. (1993). Legacy of injustice: Exploring the cross-generational impact of the Japanese American internment. New York, NY: Plenum Press.

Nagata, D. K. (1998). Intergenerational effects of the Japanese American internment. In Y. Danieli (Ed.), *International handbook of multigenerational legacies of trauma* (pp. 125-140). New York, NY: Plenum Press.

Nagata, D. K., & Cheng, W. J. Y. (2003). Intergenerational communication of race-related trauma by Japanese American former internees. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 73*, 266-278.

Nagata, D. K., & Takeshita, Y. J. (1998). Coping and resilience across generations: Japanese Americans and the World War II internment. *Psychoanalytic Review, 85*, 587-613.

Nagata, D. K., Trierweiler, S. J., & Talbot, R. (1999). Long-term effects of internment during early childhood on third-generation Japanese Americans. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 69*, 19-29.

Najmi, S., & Wegner, W. (2006). The United States of repression. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 29,* 528-529.

Padilla, L. M. (2001). "But you're not a dirty Mexican": Internalized oppression, Latinos and law. 7 *Texas Hispanic Journal of Law and Policy* 59.

Payne, H. (2007). *Yo' mama is so: 892 insults, comebacks, putdowns, and wisecracks about yo' whole family!* New York, NY: Black Dog & Leventhal.

Percelay, J. (1994). *Snaps: The original yo' mama joke book*. New York, NY: Harper.

Pharr, S. (1996). *In the time of the right: Reflections on liberation*. Berkeley, CA: Chardon Press.

Pharr, S. (1997). *Homophobia: A weapon of sexism*. Berkeley, CA: Chardon Press.

Pheterson, G. (1986). Alliances between women: Overcoming Internalized oppression and internalized domination. *Signs*, *12,* 146-160.

Pincus, F. L., (1996). Discrimination comes in many forms: Individual, institutional and structural. *American Behavioral Scientists, 40* (2) 186-194.

Pop, S. C., & Rank, K. (1995). *Yo mama!: Bust-o-pedia.* New York, NY: Berkley Books.

Pop, S. C., & Rank, K. (1999). *Yo mama: Uncensored*. New York, NY: Kensington Books.

Poupart, L. M. (2003). The familiar face of genocide: Internalized oppression among American Indians. *Hypatia*, *18*(2), pp. 86-100.

Pyke, K., & Dang, T. (2003). "FOB" and "Whitewashed": Identity and internalized racism among second generation Asian Americans. *Qualitative Sociology, 26*(2), 147-172.

Robinson, G. (2003). *By order of the President: FDR and the internment of Japanese Americans.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Rosenwasser, P. (2002). Exploring internalzed oppression and healing strategies. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education, 94*, 53-62.

Rowland-Klein, D., & Dunlop, R. (1998). The transmission of trauma across generations: identification with parental trauma in children of Holocaust survivors. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry***,** *32*(3), 358-369.

Russell, K., Midge W., & Hall, R. (1992). *The color complex: The politics of skin color among African Americans*. New York, NY: Anchor.

Schafer, R. (1968). *Aspects ofiInternalization*. New York, NY: International Universities Press.

Scott, J. C. (1987). *Weapons of the weak; Everyday forms of peasant resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Scott, J. C. (1992). *Domination and the arts of resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Seifter-Abrams, M. (1999). Intergenerational transmission of trauma: Recent contributions from the literature of family systems approaches to treatment. *American Journal of Psychotherapy, 53*(2), 225-231.

Sherover-Marcuse, R. (1997). Liberation theory: Axioms and working assumptions about the perceptions of social oppression. In N. Gonzalez Yuen (Ed.), *The politics of liberation*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt.

Sherover-Marcuse, R. (2000a). A working definition of racism. Retrieved from http://www.unlearningracism.org/writings/definition.htm

Sherover-Marcuse, R. (2000b). Working assumptions and guidelines for alliance-building. Retrieved from http://www.unlearningracism.org/writings/alliance.htm

Shorter-Gooden, K. (2004). Multiple resistance strategies: How African American women cope with racism and sexism. *Journal of Black Psychology, 30*(3), 406-425.

Smith, S. (2004). Exploring the interaction of trauma and spirituality. *Traumatology, 10*(4), 231-243.

Sonn, C., & Fisher, A. (1998). Sense of community: Community resilient responces to oppression and change. *Journal of Community Psychology, 26*(5), 457-472.

Sonn, C., & Fisher, A. (2000). Oppression: Moving beyond the dominant-nondominant dichotomy. *The Community Psychologist, 34*(1), 32-34.

Tafoya, N., & Del Veccio, A. (2005). Back to the future: An examination of the Native American Holocaust experience. In M. McGoldrick, J. Giordano, & N. Garcia-Preto (Eds.), *Ethnicity & family therapy* (3rd ed., pp. 55-63). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Takaki, R. (1993). *A different mirror: A history of multicultural America*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown.

Talbot, D. (1999). Personal narrative of an Asian American's experience with racism. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 77*(1), 42-44.

Tappan, M. (2005). Domination, subordination, and the dialogical self: Identity development and the politics of "ideological becoming." *Culture and Psychology, 11*(1), 47–75.

Tatum, B. (2003). *Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria? And other conversations about race.* New York, NY: Basic Books.

Thomas, J. A., Speight, S. L., & Witherspoon, K. M. (2004). *Internalized oppression among Black women.* In J. L. Chin (Ed.), *The psychology of prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 113-132). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Tigert, L. M. (1999). *Coming out through fire: Surviving the trauma of homophobia*. Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press.

Tigert, L. M. (2001). The power of shame: Lesbian battering as a manifestation of homophobia. *Women and Therapy, 23*(3), 73-85.

Tyler, A. (1994). *Nativism and slavery*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Wade, A. (1997). Small acts of living: Everyday resistance to violence and other forms of oppression. *Contemporary Family Therapy, 19*(1), 23-39.

Wallis, C., & Poulton, J. (2001). Internalization: The origins and construction of internal reality. Philidelphia, PA: Open University Press.

Watt, S. K. (2003). Come to the river: Using spirituality to cope, resist, and develop identity. *New Directions for Student Services*, (104), 29-40.

Watts, R. J., Griffith, D. M., & Abdul-Adil, J. (1999). Sociopolitical development as an antidote for oppression. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 27,* 255-271.

Watts-Jones, D. (2002). Healing internalized racism: The role of within-group sanctuary among people of African descent. *Family Process, 41*(4), 591-601.

Weaver, H. N., & Brave Heart, M. Y. H. (1999). Examining two facets of American Indian identity: Exposure to other cultures and the influence of historical trauma. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 2,* 19-33.

Weiss, M., & Weiss, S. (2000). Second generation to Holocaust survivors: Enhanced differentiation of trauma transmission. *American Journal of Psychotherapy, 54*(3), 372-385.

Wertsh, J. (1985). *Vygotsky and the social formation of mind.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wesley-Esquimaux, C., & Smolewski, M. (2004). Historic trauma and aboriginal healing. Ottawa, Ontario, CA: Aboriginal Healing Foundation

West, T. (1999). *Wounds of the spirit; Black women, violence and resistance ethics*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Whitbeck, L., Adams, G., Hoyt, D., & Chen, X. (2004). Conceptualizing and measuring historical trauma among American Indian people. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 33*(3-4), 119-130.

Wildman, S. (1996). *Privilege revealed: How invisible preference undermines America.* New York, NY: New York University Press.

Williamson, I. R. (2000). Internalized homophobia and health issues affecting lesbians and gay men. *Health Education Research, Theory and Practice, 15*(1), 97-107.

Woods, T., & Kurtz-Cortes, B. (2007). Race identity and race socialization in African American families: Implications for social workers. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 15*(2), 99-116.

Woodson, C. G. (2000).*The mis-education of the Negro*. Chicago, IL: African American Images Press.

Woolley, M. (1993). Acquired hearing loss: Acquired oppression. In J. Swain, V. Finkelstein, S. French, & M. Oliver (Eds.), Disabling barriers, enabling environments (pp. 78-83). London, England: Sage.

X, M., & Breitman, G. (1965). *Malcolm X speaks: Selected speeches and statements*. New York, NY: Grove Press.

Young, I. (1990). *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Young, I. M. (2000). *The five faces of oppression.* In M. Adams, W. J. Blumenfeld, R. Castañeda, H.W. Hackman, M. L. Peters, & X. Zúñiga (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice* (2nd ed., pp. 35-45). New York, NY: Routledge.

Zarogin, P. (1996). The historical significance of lying and dissimulation. *Social Research, 63*(3), 863-912.